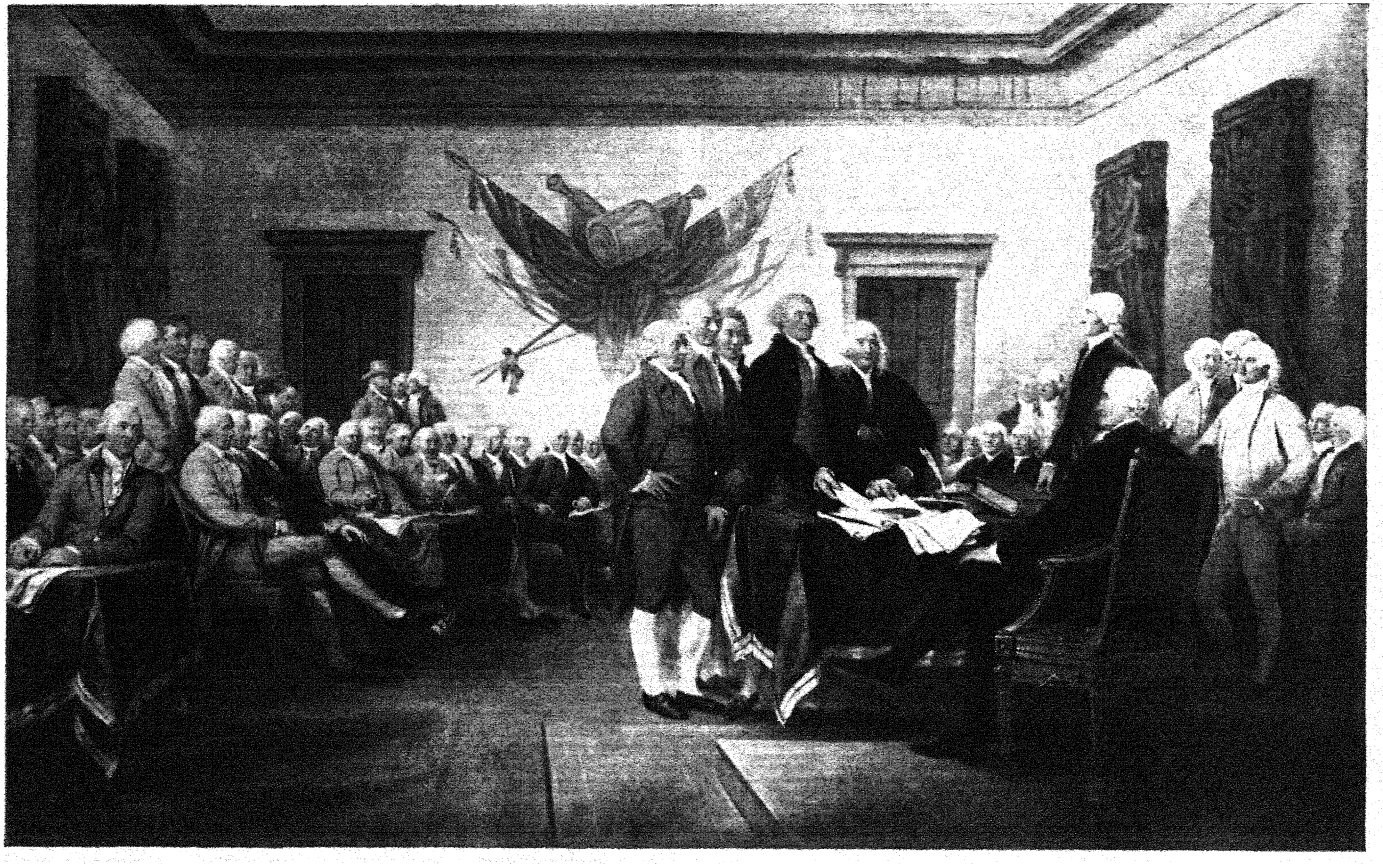


THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (*Pages* 271-277)

FROM THE PAINTING BY TRUMBULL

# *The* World's Great Events

An Indexed History of the World
from Earliest Times to the Present Day

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VOLUME FIVE

*From* A.D. 1688 *to* A.D. 1792

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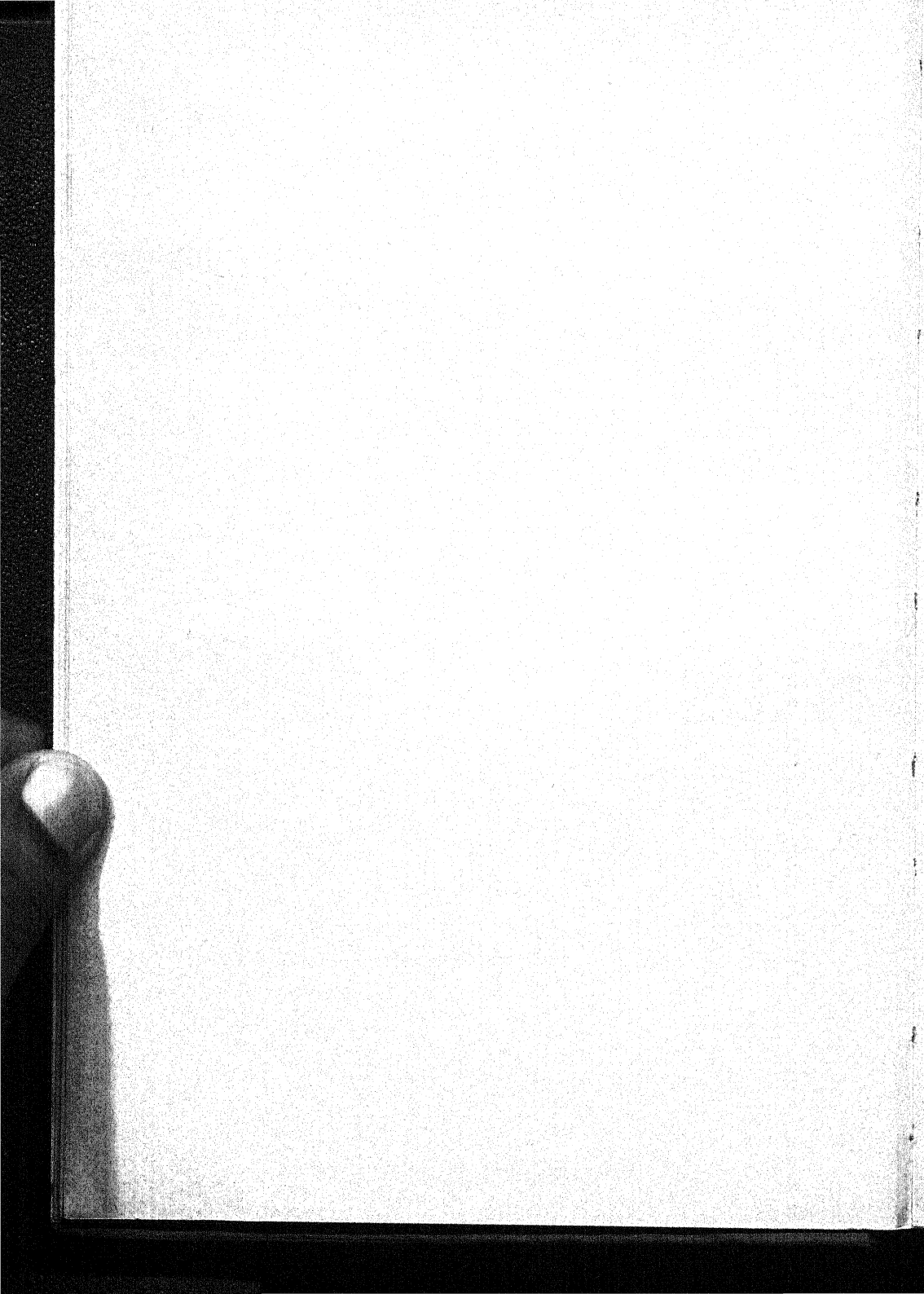
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# THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

## (A.D. 1688)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

THIS scandalous apostasy could not but heighten the interest with which the nation looked forward to the day when the fate of the seven brave confessors of the English Church was to be decided. To pack a jury was now the great object of the King. The crown lawyers were ordered to make strict inquiry as to the sentiments of the persons who were registered in the freeholders' book. Sir Samuel Astry, clerk of the Crown, whose duty it was, in cases of this description, to select the names, was summoned to the palace, and had an interview with James in the presence of the chancellor. Sir Samuel seems to have done his best. For, among the forty-eight persons whom he nominated, were said to be several servants of the King, and several Roman Catholics. But as the counsel for the bishops had a right to strike off twelve, these persons were removed. The crown lawyers also struck off twelve.

*Selection of the jury.*

The list was thus reduced to twenty-four. The first twelve who answered to their names were to try the issue.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Westminster Hall, Old and New Palace Yard, and all the neighboring streets to a great distance, were thronged with people. Such an auditory had never before, and has never since, been assembled in the court of King's Bench. Thirty-five peers of the realm were counted in the crowd.

*Popular interest in the trial.*

All the four judges of the court were on the bench. Wright, who presided, had been raised to his high place over the heads of many abler and more learned men solely on account of his unscrupulous servility. Allybone was a Papist, and owed his situation to that dispensing power, the legality of which was now in question. Holloway had hitherto been a serviceable tool of the government. Even Powell, whose character for honesty stood high, had borne a part in some proceedings which it is impossible to defend.

*The government's counsel.*

The counsel were by no means fairly matched. The government had required from its law officers services so odious and disgraceful that all the ablest jurists and advocates of the Tory party had, one after another, refused to comply, and had been dismissed from their employments. Sir Thomas Powis, the Attorney-General, was scarcely of the third rank in his profession. Sir William Williams, the Solicitor-General, had quick parts and dauntless courage; but he wanted discretion; he

loved wrangling; he had no command over his temper; and he was hated and despised by all political parties. The most conspicuous assistants of the attorney and solicitor were Sergeant Trinder, a Roman Catholic, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, Recorder of London, who had some legal learning, but whose fulsome apologies and endless repetitions were the jest of Westminster Hall.

*The counsel for the defence.*

On the other side were arrayed almost all the eminent forensic talents of the age. Sawyer and Finch, who, at the time of the accession of James, had been attorney and solicitor-general, and who, during the persecution of the Whigs in the late reign, had served the crown with but too much vehemence and success, were of counsel for the defendants. With them were joined two persons who, since age had diminished the activity of Maynard, were reputed the two best lawyers that could be found in all the inns of court: Pemberton, who had, in the time of Charles the Second, been Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, who had been removed from his high place on account of his humanity and moderation, and who had resumed his practice at the bar; and Pollexfen, who had long been at the head of the western circuit, and who, though he had incurred much unpopularity by holding briefs for the crown at the Bloody Assizes, and particularly by appearing against Alice Lisle, was known to be at heart a Whig, if not a republican. Sir Creswell Levinz was also there, a man of great knowledge and experience, but of singularly timid nature. He

had been removed from the bench some years before, because he was afraid to serve the purposes of the government. He was now afraid to appear as the advocate of the bishops, and had at first refused to receive their retainer; but it was intimated to him by the whole body of attorneys who employed him, that, if he declined this brief, he should never have another.

Sir George Treby, an able and zealous Whig, who had been Recorder of London under the old charter, was on the same side. Sir John Holt, a still more eminent Whig lawyer, was not retained for the defence, in consequence, it should seem, of some prejudice conceived against him by Sancroft, but was privately consulted on the case by the Bishop of London. The junior counsel for the bishops was a young barrister named John Somers. He had no advantages of birth or fortune; nor had he yet had any opportunity of distinguishing himself before the eyes of the public; but his genius, his industry, his great and various accomplishments, were well known to a small circle of friends; and, in spite of his Whig opinions, his pertinent and lucid mode of arguing, and the constant propriety of his demeanor, had already secured to him the ear of the Court of King's Bench. The importance of obtaining his services had been strongly represented to the bishops by Johnstone; and Pollexfen, it is said, had declared that no man in Westminster Hall was so well qualified to treat an historical and constitutional question as Somers.

*John Somers.*

*The jury.*

The jury was sworn; it consisted of persons of highly respectable station. The foreman was Sir Roger Langley, a baronet of old and honorable family. With him were joined a knight and ten esquires, several of whom are known to have been men of large possessions. There were some Nonconformists in the number; for the bishops had wisely resolved not to show any distrust of the Protestant Dissenters. One name excited considerable alarm, that of Michael Arnold. He was brewer to the palace; and it was apprehended that the government counted on his voice. The story goes that he complained bitterly of the position in which he found himself. "Whatever I do," he said, "I am sure to be half ruined. If I say Not Guilty, I shall brew no more for the King; and if I say Guilty, I shall brew no more for anybody else."

*The great trial.*

The trial then commenced, a trial which, even when coolly perused after the lapse of more than a century and a half, has all the interest of a drama. The advocates contended on both sides with far more than professional keenness and vehemence; the audience listened with as much anxiety as if the fate of every one of them was to be decided by the verdict; and the turns of fortune were so sudden and amazing, that the multitude repeatedly passed in a single minute from anxiety to exultation, and back again from exultation to still deeper anxiety.

The information charged the bishops with having written or published, in the county of Middlesex, a false,

*Charge against the bishops.*

malicious, and seditious libel. The attorney and solicitor first tried to prove the writing. For this purpose several persons were called to speak to the hands of the bishops. But the witnesses were so unwilling that hardly a single, plain answer could be extracted from any of them. Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Levinz contended that there was no evidence to go to the jury. Two of the judges, Holloway and Powell, declared themselves of the same opinion; and the hopes of the spectators rose high. All at once the crown lawyers announced their intention to take another line. Powis, with shame and reluctance which he could not dissemble, put into the witness-box Blathwayt, a clerk of the privy council, who had been present when the King interrogated the bishops. Blathwayt swore that he had heard them own their signatures. His testimony was decisive. "Why," said Judge Holloway to the attorney, "when you had such evidence, did you not produce it at first, without all this waste of time?" It soon appeared why the counsel for the crown had been unwilling, without absolute necessity, to resort to this mode of proof. Pemberton stopped Blathwayt, subjected him to a searching cross-examination, and insisted upon having all that had passed between the King and the defendants fully related. At length Blathwayt was forced to give a full account of what had passed. It appeared that the King had entered into no express covenant with the bishops. But it appeared also that the bishops might not unreasonably think that there was an

*Blathwayt's evidence.*

implied engagement. Indeed, from the unwillingness of the crown lawyers to put the clerk of the council into the witness-box, and from the vehemence with which they objected to Pemberton's cross-examination, it is plain that they were themselves of this opinion.

*New objections.*

However, the handwriting was now proved. But a new and serious objection was raised. It was not sufficient to prove that the bishops had written the alleged libel. It was necessary to prove also that they had written it in the county of Middlesex. And not only was it out of the power of the attorney and solicitor to prove this; but it was in the power of the defendants to prove the contrary. For it so happened that Sancroft had never once left the palace at Lambeth from the time when the order in council appeared till after the petition was in the King's hands. The whole case for the prosecution had, therefore, completely broken down; and the audience, with great glee, expected a speedy acquittal.

*The prosecution shifts ground.*

The crown lawyers then changed their ground again, abandoned altogether the charge of writing a libel, and undertook to prove that the bishops had published a libel in the county of Middlesex. The difficulties were great. The delivery of the petition to the King was undoubtedly, in the eye of the law, a publication. But how was this delivery to be proved? No person had been present at the audience in the royal closet, except the King and the defendants. The King could not be sworn. It was therefore only by the admissions of the defendants that

the fact of publication could be established. Blathwayt was again examined, but in vain. He well remembered, he said, that the bishops owned their hands; but he did not remember that they owned the paper which lay on the table of the privy council to be the same paper which they had delivered to the King, or that they were even interrogated on that point. Several other official men who had been in attendance on the council were called, and among them Samuel Pepys, secretary of the Admiralty; but none of them could remember that anything was said about the delivery. It was to no purpose that Williams put leading questions, till the counsel on the other side declared that such twisting, such wiredrawing, was never seen in a court of justice, and till Wright himself was forced to admit that the solicitor's mode of examination was contrary to all rule. As witness after witness answered in the negative, roars of laughter and shouts of triumph, which the judges did not even attempt to silence, shook the hall.

*Samuel Pepys.*

It seemed that at length this hard fight had been won. The case for the crown was closed. Had the counsel for the bishops remained silent, an acquittal was certain; for nothing which the most corrupt and shameless judge could venture to call legal evidence of publication had been given. The Chief-Justice was beginning to charge the jury, and would undoubtedly have directed them to acquit the defendants; but Finch, too anxious to be perfectly discreet, interfered, and begged to be heard. "If

*The case for the crown is closed.*

*Finch's indiscretion.*

you will be heard," said Wright, "you shall be heard; but you do not understand your own interests." The other counsel for the defence made Finch sit down, and begged the Chief-Justice to proceed. He was about to do so when a messenger came to the solicitor-general with news that Lord Sunderland could prove the publication, and would come down to the court immediately. Wright maliciously told the counsel for the defence that they had only themselves to thank for the turn which things had taken. The countenances of the great multitude fell. Finch was, during some hours, the most unpopular man in the country. Why could he not sit still as his betters, Sawyer, Pemberton, and Pollexfen, had done? His love of meddling, his ambition to make a fine speech, had ruined everything.

*The lord president.*

Meanwhile, the lord president was brought in a sedan chair through the hall. Not a hat moved as he passed; and many voices cried out, "Popish dog." He came into court pale and trembling, with eyes fixed on the ground, and gave his evidence in a faltering voice. He swore that the bishops had informed him of their intention to present a petition to the King, and that they had been admitted into the royal closet for that purpose. This circumstance, coupled with the circumstance that, after they left the closet, there was in the King's hands a petition signed by them, was such proof as might reasonably satisfy a jury of the fact of the publication. Publication in Middlesex was then proved. But was the

*Publication proved.*

paper thus published a false, malicious, and seditious libel? Hitherto the matter in dispute had been, whether a fact which everybody well knew to be true could be proved according to technical rules of evidence; but now the contest became one of deeper interest. It was necessary to inquire into the limits of prerogative and liberty, into the right of the King to dispense with statutes, into the right of the subject to petition for the redress of grievances. During three hours the counsel for the petitioners argued with great force in defence of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and proved from the journals of the House of Commons that the bishops had affirmed no more than the truth when they represented to the King that the dispensing power which he claimed had been repeatedly declared illegal by Parliament. Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes; but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sat down his reputation as an orator and a constitutional lawyer was established. He went through the expressions which were used in the information to describe the offence imputed to the bishops, and showed that every word, whether adjective or substantive, was altogether inappropriate. The offence imputed was a false, a malicious, a seditious libel. False the paper was not; for every fact which it set forth had been proved from the journals of Parliament to be true. Malicious the paper was not; for the defendants had not sought an occasion of strife, but had been placed by the govern-

*Somer's weighty argument.*

ment in such a situation that they must either oppose themselves to the royal will, or violate the most sacred obligations of conscience and honor. Seditious the paper was not; for it had not been scattered by the writers among the rabble, but delivered privately into the hands of the King alone; and a libel it was not, but a decent petition, such as, by the laws of England, nay, by the laws of imperial Rome, by the laws of all civilized states, a subject who thinks himself aggrieved may with propriety present to the sovereign.

*The acrimonious reply.*

The attorney replied shortly and feebly. The solicitor spoke at great length and with great acrimony, and was often interrupted by the clamors and hisses of the audience. He went so far as to lay it down that no subject or body of subjects, except the Houses of Parliament, had a right to petition the King. The galleries were furious; and the Chief-Justice himself stood aghast at the effrontery of this venal turncoat.

*The evidence is summed up.*

At length Wright proceeded to sum up the evidence. His language showed that the awe in which he stood of the government was tempered by the awe with which the audience, so numerous, so splendid, and so strongly excited, had impressed him. He said that he would give no opinion on the question of the dispensing power, that it was not necessary for him to do so, that he could not agree with much of the solicitor's speech, that it was the right of the subject to petition, but that the particular petition before the court was improperly worded, and

was, in the contemplation of law, a libel. Allybone was of the same mind, but, in giving his opinion, showed such gross ignorance of law and history as brought on him the contempt of all who heard him. Holloway evaded the question of the dispensing power, but said that the petition seemed to him to be such as subjects who think themselves aggrieved are entitled to present, and therefore no libel. Powell took a bolder course. He declared that, in his judgment, the Declaration of Indulgence was a nullity, and that the dispensing power, as lately exercised, was utterly inconsistent with all law. If these encroachments of prerogative were allowed, there was no need of Parliaments. The whole legislative authority would be in the King. "That issue, gentlemen," he said, "I leave to God and to your consciences."

*The jury retires.*

It was dark before the jury retired to consider of their verdict. The night was a night of intense anxiety.

The solicitor for the bishops sat up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food, which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basins of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jury-

men, raging with thirst, soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neighboring streets till dawn. Every hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room; but nothing certain was known.

At first, nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way; but Arnold was obstinate. Thomas Austin, a country gentleman of great estate, who had paid close attention to the evidence and speeches, and had taken full notes, wished to argue the question. Arnold declined. He was not used, he doggedly said, to reasoning and debating. His conscience was not satisfied; and he should not acquit the bishops. "If you come to that," said Austin, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of the twelve; and before I find such a petition as this a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco pipe." It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. It was soon known that the jury were agreed; but what the verdict would be was still a secret.

*Arnold's obstinacy.*

At ten the court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants, or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanor whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips, Hali-

*The verdict.*

fax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and, in another moment, the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in few moments, the glad tidings went flying past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market-places and coffee-houses, broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation. Yet not even that astounding explosion could awe the bitter and intrepid spirit of the solicitor. Striving to make himself heard above the din, he called on the judges to commit those who had violated, by clamor, the dignity of a court of justice. One of the rejoicing populace was seized. But the tribunal felt that it would be absurd to punish a

*Popular enthusiasm.*

single individual for an offence common to hundreds of thousands, and dismissed him with a gentle reprimand.

It was vain to think of passing at that moment to any other business. Indeed, the roar of the multitude was such that, for half an hour, scarcely a word could be heard in court. Williams got to his coach amid a tempest of hisses and curses.

*General rejoicings.*

The acquitted prelates took refuge from the crowd which implored their blessing in the nearest chapel where divine service was performing. Many churches were open on that morning throughout the capital; and many pious persons repaired thither. The bells of all the parishes of the city and liberties were ringing. The jury meanwhile could scarcely make their way out of the hall. They were forced to shake hands with hundreds. "God bless you," cried the people; "God prosper your families; you have done like honest good-natured gentlemen. You have saved us all to-day." As the noblemen who had appeared to support the good cause drove off, they flung from their carriage windows handfuls of money, and bade the crowd drink to the health of the bishops and the jury.

*James's defeat.*

James's defeat had been complete and most humiliating. Had the prelates escaped on account of some technical defect in the case for the crown, had they escaped because they had not written the petition in Middlesex, or because it was impossible to prove, according to the strict rules of law, that they had delivered to

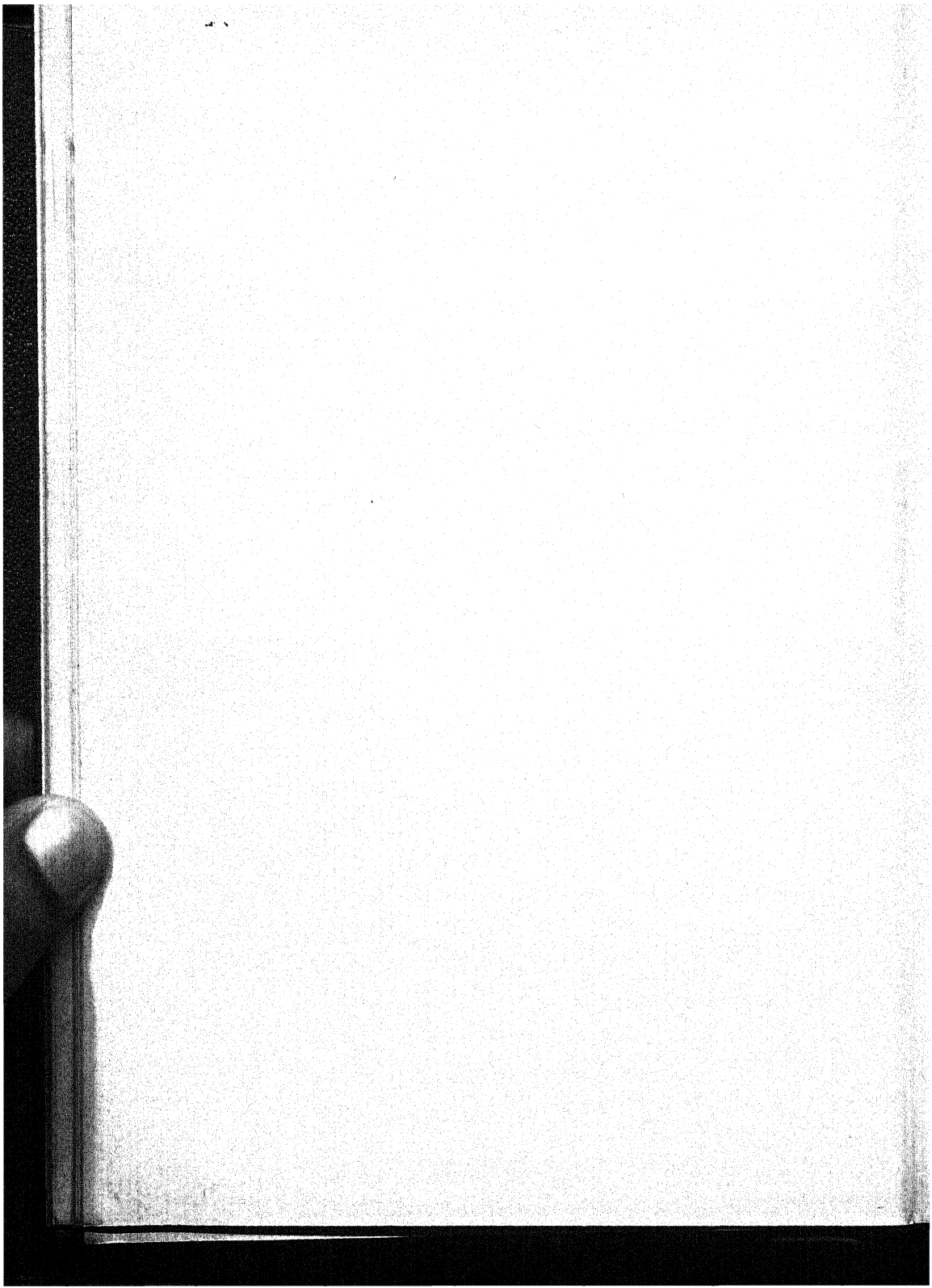
the King the paper for which they were called in question, the prerogative would have suffered no shock. Happily for the country, the fact of publication had been fully established. The counsel for the defence had therefore been forced to attack the dispensing power. They had attacked it with great learning, eloquence, and boldness. The advocates of the government had been by universal acknowledgment overmatched in the contest. Not a single judge had ventured to declare that the Declaration of Indulgence was legal. One judge had in the strongest terms pronounced it illegal. The language of the whole town was, that the dispensing power had received a fatal blow.

*Tumultuous demonstrations.*

That joyful day was followed by a not less joyful night. The bishops, and some of their most respectable friends, in vain exerted themselves to prevent tumultuous demonstrations of joy. Never within the memory of the oldest, not even on that evening on which it was known through London that the army of Scotland had declared for a free Parliament, had the streets been in such a glare with bonfires. Round every bonfire crowds were drinking good health to the bishops and confusion to the Papists. The windows were lighted with rows of candles. Each row consisted of seven; and the taper in the centre, which was taller than the rest, represented the primate. The noise of rockets, squibs, and firearms, was incessant. One huge pile of fagots blazed right in front of the great gate of Whitehall. Others were lighted

before the doors of Roman Catholic peers. Lord Arundell of Wardour wisely quieted the mob with a little money; but at Salisbury House, in the Strand, an attempt at resistance was made. Lord Salisbury's servants sallied out and fired; but they killed only the unfortunate beadle of the parish, who had come thither to put out the fire; and they were soon routed and driven back into the house. None of the spectacles of that night interested the common people so much as one with which they had, a few years before, been familiar, and which they now, after a long interval, enjoyed once more —the burning of the Pope.

*Bonfires and burning of the Pope.*



# THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

## (A.D. 1688)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE announcement of the birth of a Prince of Wales was followed ten days after by a formal invitation to William to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion; it was signed by the representatives of the great parties now united against a common danger, and by some others, and was carried to the Hague by Herbert, the most popular of English seamen, who had been deprived of his command for a refusal to vote against the Test. The Invitation called on William to land with an army strong enough to justify those who signed it in rising in arms. It was sent from London on the day after the acquittal of the bishops. The general excitement, the shouts of the boats which covered the river, the bonfires in every street, showed indeed that the country was on the eve of revolt. The army itself, on which James had implicitly relied, suddenly showed its sympathy with the people. James was

*Invitation to William.*

at Hounslow when the news of the verdict reached him, and as he rode from the camp he heard a great shout behind him. "What is that?" he asked. "It is nothing," was the reply, "only the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted!" "Do you call that nothing?" grumbled the King. The shout told him that he stood utterly alone in his realm. The peerage, the gentry, the bishops, the clergy, the universities, every lawyer, every trader, every farmer, stood aloof from him. And now his very soldiers forsook him. The most devoted Catholics pressed him to give way. But to give way was to change the whole nature of his government. All show of legal rule had disappeared. Sheriffs, mayors, magistrates, appointed by the crown in defiance of a parliamentary statute, were no real officers in the eye of the law. Even if the Houses were summoned, members returned by officers such as these could form no legal Parliament. Hardly a minister of the crown or a privy councillor exercised any lawful authority. James had brought things to such a pass that the restoration of legal government meant the absolute reversal of every act he had done. But he was in no mood to reverse his acts. His temper was only spurred to a more dogged obstinacy by danger and remonstrance. He broke up the camp at Hounslow and dispersed its troops in distant cantonments. He dismissed the two judges who had favored the acquittal of the bishops. He ordered the chancellor of each diocese to report the names of the clergy who had not read the Declaration of Indul-

*The national discontent.*

*James's obstinacy.*

gence. But his will broke fruitlessly against the sullen resistance which met him on every side. Not a chancellor made a return to the Commissioners, and the Commissioners were cowed into inaction by the temper of the nation. When the judges who had displayed their servility to the crown went on circuit the gentry refused to meet them. A yet fiercer irritation was kindled by the King's resolve to supply the place of the English troops, whose temper proved unserviceable for his purposes, by drafts from the Catholic army which Tyrconnel had raised in Ireland. Even the Roman Catholic peers at the Council table protested against this measure; and six officers in a single regiment laid down their commissions rather than enroll the Irish recruits among their men. The ballad of "Lillibullero," a scurrilous attack on the Irish recruits, was sung from one end of England to the other.

*James uses Irish troops*

An outbreak of revolt was, in fact, inevitable. William was straining all his resources to gather a fleet and sufficient forces, while noble after noble made their way to The Hague. The Earl of Shrewsbury brought £2,000 toward the expenses of the expedition. Edward Russell, the representative of the Whig Earl of Bedford, was followed by the representatives of great Tory houses, by the sons of the Marquis of Winchester, of Lord Danby, of Lord Peterborough, and by the High Church Lord Macclesfield. At home, the Earls of Danby and Devonshire prepared silently with Lord Lumley for a rising

*The nobles join William.*

in the North. In spite of the profound secrecy with which all was conducted, the keen instinct of Sunderland, who had stooped to purchase continuance in office at the price of a secret apostasy to Catholicism, detected the preparations of William; and the sense that his master's ruin was at hand encouraged him to tell every secret of James on the promise of a pardon for the crimes to which he had lent himself. James alone remained stubborn and insensate as of old. He had no fear of a revolt unaided by the Prince of Orange, and he believed that the threat of a French attack on Holland would render William's departure impossible. But in September the long-delayed war began, and by the greatest political error of his reign, Louis threw his forces not on Holland, but on Germany. The Dutch at once felt themselves secure; the states-general gave their sanction to William's project, and the armament he had prepared gathered rapidly in the Scheldt. The news no sooner reached England than the King passed from obstinacy to panic. By drafts from Scotland and Ireland he had mustered forty thousand men, but the temper of the troops robbed him of all trust in them. Help from France was now out of the question. He could only fall back on the older policy of a union with the Tory party and the party of the Church. He personally appealed for support to the bishops. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He replaced the magistrates he had driven from office. He restored their franchises to the towns.

*Louis attacks Germany.*

*James is panic-stricken.*

The Chancellor carried back the Charter of London in state into the city. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to replace the expelled Fellows of Magdalen. Catholic chapels and Jesuit schools were ordered to be closed. Sunderland pressed for the instant calling of a Parliament, but to James the counsel seemed treachery, and he dismissed Sunderland from office. In answer to a declaration from the Prince of Orange, which left the question of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales to Parliament, he produced before the peers who were in London proofs of the birth of his child. But concessions and proofs came too late. Detained by ill winds, beaten back on its first venture by a violent storm, William's fleet of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men-of-war, anchored, on the fifth of November, in Torbay; and his army, thirteen thousand men strong, entered Exeter amid the shouts of its citizens. His coming had not been looked for in the West, and for a week no great landowner joined him. But nobles and squires soon flocked to his camp, and the adhesion of Plymouth secured his rear. Insurrection broke out in Scotland. Danby, dashing at the head of a hundred horsemen into York, gave the signal for a rising. The militia met his appeal with shouts of "A free Parliament and the Protestant religion!" Peers and gentry flocked to his standard; and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the midland and eastern counties.

*Sunderland is dismissed.*

*The rising in the North.*

Everywhere the revolt was triumphant. The garrison of Hull declared for a free Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk appeared at the head of three hundred gentlemen in the market-place at Norwich. At Oxford townsmen and gownsmen greeted Lord Lovelace with uproarious welcome. Bristol threw open its gates to the Prince of Orange, who advanced steadily on Salisbury, where James had mustered his forces. But the King's army, broken by dissensions and mutual suspicions among its leaders, fell back in disorder; and the desertion of Lord Churchill was followed by that of so many other officers that James abandoned the struggle in despair. He fled to London to hear that his daughter Anne had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. "God help me," cried the wretched King, "for my own children have forsaken me!" His spirit was utterly broken; and though he promised to call the Houses together, and despatched commissioners to Hungerford to treat with William on the terms of a free Parliament, in his heart he had resolved on flight. Parliament, he said to the few who still clung to him, would force on him concessions he could not endure; and he only waited for news of the escape of his wife and child to make his way to the Isle of Sheppey, where a hoy lay ready to carry him to France. Some rough fishermen, who took him for a Jesuit, prevented his escape, and a troop of Life Guards brought him back in safety to London: but it was the policy of William and his advisers to further a flight which re-

*Flight of James.*

*He is captured.*



THE SEVEN BISHOPS LEAVING THE COURT AFTER THEIR ACQUITTAL (*Page* 15)

FROM THE PAINTING BY WARD

moved their chief difficulty out of the way. It would have been hard to depose James had he remained, and perilous to keep him prisoner: but the entry of the Dutch troops into London, the silence of the Prince, and an order to leave St. James's, filled the King with fresh terrors, and, taking advantage of the means of escape which were almost openly placed at his disposal, James a second time quitted London, and embarked on the 23d of December unhindered for France.

*His final departure.*

Before flying James had burnt most of the writs convoking the new Parliament, had disbanded his army, and destroyed so far as he could all means of government. For a few days there was a wild burst of panic and outrage in London, but the orderly instinct of the people soon reasserted itself. The Lords who were at the moment in London provided on their own authority as Privy Councillors for the more pressing needs of administration, and resigned their authority into William's hands on his arrival. The difficulty which arose from the absence of any person legally authorized to call Parliament together was got over by convoking the House of Peers, and forming a second body of all members who had sat in the Commons in the reign of Charles the Second, with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. Both bodies requested William to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and to issue circular letters inviting the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Con-

*The Convention.*

vention which met in January, 1689. In the new Convention both Houses were found equally resolved against any recall of or negotiation with the fallen King. They were united in intrusting a provisional authority to the Prince of Orange. But with this step their unanimity ended. The Whigs, who formed a majority in the Commons, voted a resolution which, illogical and inconsistent as it seemed, was well adapted to unite in its favor every element of the opposition to James: the Churchman who was simply scared by his bigotry, the Tory who doubted the right of a nation to depose its King, the Whig who held the theory of a contract between King and People. They voted that King James, "having endeavored to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But in the Lords, where the Tories were still in the ascendant, the resolution was fiercely debated. Archbishop Sancroft with the high Tories held that no crime could bring about a forfeiture of the crown, and that James still remained King, but that his tyranny had given the nation a right to withdraw from him the actual exercise of government and to intrust his functions to a Regency. The moderate Tories under Danby's guidance admitted that James had ceased to be King, but denied that the

*The Whigs' Resolution.*

*Opposition to the "Lords."*

throne could be vacant, and contended that from the moment of his abdication the sovereignty vested in his daughter Mary. It was in vain that the eloquence of Halifax backed the Whig peers in struggling for the resolution of the Commons as it stood. The plan of a Regency was lost by a single vote, and Danby's scheme was adopted by a large majority. But both the Tory courses found a sudden obstacle in William. He declined to be Regent. He had no mind, he said to Danby, to be his wife's gentleman-usher. Mary, on the other hand, refused to accept the crown save in conjunction with her husband. The two declarations put an end to the question. It was agreed that William and Mary should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns, but that the actual administration should rest with William alone. A Parliamentary committee in which the most active member was John Somers, a young lawyer who had distinguished himself in the trial of the bishops and who was destined to play a great part in later history, drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented on February 13th to William and Mary by the two Houses in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. It recited the misgovernment of James, his abdication, and the resolve of the Lords and Commons to assert the ancient rights and liberties of English subjects. It condemned as illegal his establishment of an ecclesiastical commission, and his raising an army without Parliamentary sanction. It denied the right of any king to suspend or dispense with laws, or to exact

*William and Mary.*

*Declaration of Rights.*

money, save by consent of Parliament. It asserted for the subject a right to petition, to a free choice of representatives in Parliament, and to a pure and merciful administration of justice. It declared the right of both Houses to liberty of debate. It demanded securities for the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and bound the new sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion and the law and liberties of the realm. In full faith that these principles would be accepted and maintained by William and Mary, it ended with declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England. At the close of the Declaration, Halifax, in the name of the Estates of the Realm, prayed them to receive the crown. William accepted the offer in his own name and his wife's, and declared in a few words the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament.

*William accepts the crown for himself and Mary.*

# BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

## (A.D. 1690)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

ON the 24th of June, the tenth day after William's landing, he marched southward from Loughbrickland with all his forces. He was fully determined to take the first opportunity of fighting. Schomberg and some other officers recommended caution and delay. But the King answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. The event seems to prove that he judged rightly as a general. That he judged rightly as a statesman can not be doubted. He knew that the English nation was discontented with the way in which the war had hitherto been conducted; that nothing but rapid and splendid success could revive the enthusiasm of his friends and quell the spirit of his enemies; and that a defeat could scarcely be more injurious to his fame and to his interests than a languid and indecisive campaign.

*William determines upon immediate fighting.*

The original intention of James seems to have been to try the chances of a pitched field on the border be-

*James retreats.*

tween Leinster and Ulster. But this design was abandoned, in consequence, apparently, of the representations of Lauzun, who, though very little disposed and very little qualified to conduct a campaign on the Fabian system, had the admonitions of Louvois still in his ears. James, though resolved not to give up Dublin without a battle, consented to retreat till he should reach some spot where he might have the vantage of ground. When therefore William's advanced guard reached Dundalk, nothing was to be seen of the Irish army, except a great cloud of dust which was slowly rolling southward toward Ardee. The English halted one night near the ground on which Schomberg's camp had been pitched in the preceding year; and many sad recollections were awakened by the sight of that dreary marsh, the sepulchre of thousands of brave men.

*William advances to the valley of the Boyne.*

Still William continued to push forward, and still the Irish receded before him, till, on the morning of Monday, the 30th of June, his army, marching in three columns, reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern frontier of the county of Louth. Beneath lay a valley, now so rich and so cheerful that the Englishman who gazes on it may imagine himself to be in one of the most highly favored parts of his own highly favored country. Fields of wheat, woodlands, meadows bright with daisies and clover, slope gently down to the edge of the Boyne.

When William caught sight of the valley of the

Boyne, he could not repress an exclamation and a gesture of delight. He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war till the autumnal rains should return with pestilence in their train. He was now at ease. It was plain that the contest would be sharp and short. The pavilion of James was pitched on the eminence of Donore. The flags of the House of Stuart and the House of Bourbon waved together in defiance on the walls of Drogheda. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the hostile army. Thousands of armed men were moving about among the tents; and every one, horse soldier or foot soldier, French or Irish, had a white badge in his hat. That color had been chosen in compliment to the House of Bourbon. "I am glad to see you, gentlemen," said the King, as his keen eye surveyed the Irish lines. "If you escape me now, the fault will be mine."

*James at Donore.*

Each of the contending princes had some advantages over his rival. James, standing on the defensive, behind intrenchments, with a river before him, had the stronger position; but his troops were inferior both in number and in quality to those which were opposed to him. He probably had thirty thousand men. About a third part of this force consisted of excellent French infantry and excellent Irish cavalry. But the rest of his army was the scoff of all Europe. The Irish dragoons were bad; the Irish infantry worse. It was said that their ordinary

*Respective advantages.*

*The Irish troops.*

way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then to run away bawling "Quarter" and "Murder." Their inefficiency was, in that age, commonly imputed, both by their enemies and by their allies, to natural poltroonery. How little ground there was for such an imputation has since been signally proved by many heroic achievements in every part of the globe. It ought, indeed, even in the Seventeenth Century, to have occurred to reasonable men that a race which furnished some of the best horse soldiers in the world would certainly, with judicious training, furnish good foot soldiers. But the Irish foot soldiers had not merely not been well trained: they had been elaborately ill trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which fought its way, under his command, from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few weeks, unfit for all military purposes. What then was likely to be the character of troops who, from the day on which they enlisted, were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding? They were, as might have been expected, a mere mob, furious indeed and clamorous in their zeal for the cause which they had espoused, but incapable of opposing a steadfast resistance to a well ordered force.

*Wellington's opinion.*

William had under his command near thirty-six thousand men, born in many lands, and speaking many

*William's army.*

tongues. Scarcely one Protestant Church, scarcely one Protestant nation, was unrepresented in the army which a strange series of events had brought to fight for the Protestant religion in the remotest island of the west. About half of the troops were natives of England. Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Finland regiment. But in that great array, so variously composed, were two bodies of men animated by a spirit peculiarly fierce and implacable, the Huguenots of France thirsting for the blood of the French, and the Englishry of Ireland impatient to trample down the Irish.

*Schomberg's opposition.*

The King's resolution to attack the Irish was not approved by all his lieutenants. Schomberg, in particular, pronounced the experiment too hazardous, and, when his opinion was overruled, retired to his tent in no very good humor. When the order of battle was delivered to him, he muttered that he had been more used to give such orders than to receive them. For this little fit of sullenness, very pardonable in a general who had won great victories when his master was still a child, the brave veteran made, on the following morning, a noble atonement.

*The first manœuvre.*

The 1st of July dawned, a day which has never since returned without exciting strong emotions of very different kinds in the two populations which divide Ireland. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both armies were in motion. William ordered his

*The First of July.*

right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil behaved himself like a brave gentleman: but he soon received a mortal wound: his men fled; and the English right wing passed the river.

*Lauzun's apprehensions.*

This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the English right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the Boyne was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow that two cars could not pass each other, and where on both sides of the road lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to retreat. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man. Disturbed by this apprehension, the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre of his army, which consisted almost exclusively of foot, was intrusted to the

command of Schomberg, and was marshalled opposite to Oldbridge. At Oldbridge the whole Irish infantry had been collected. The Meath bank bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by French engineers out of the hedges and buildings; and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water side. Tyrconnel was there; and under him were Richard Hamilton and Antrim. *The cavalry advances.*

Schomberg gave the word. Solmes's Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. Then the drums stopped; and the men, ten abreast, descended into the water. Next plunged Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left of Londonderry and Enniskillen, Caillemot crossed, at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to the left of Caillemot and his refugees, the main body of the English infantry struggled through the river, up to their armpits in water. Still further down the stream the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes the Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs. *Schomberg's attack.* *The army fords the Boyne.*

It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the channel that they became aware of the whole difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half the hostile army. Now whole regiments of foot and horse seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore: during one moment the

*Perilous service.*

event seemed doubtful: but the Protestants pressed resolutely forward; and in another moment the whole Irish line gave way. Tyrconnel looked on in helpless despair. Several of his best officers fell while vainly endeavoring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Richard Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still deep in water. He led the way, and, accompanied by several courageous gentlemen, advanced, sword in hand, into the river. But neither his commands nor his example could infuse courage into that mob of cowstealers. He was left almost alone, and retired from the bank in despair. Further down the river Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colors and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot.

*Flight of the Irish.*

It required many years and many heroic exploits to take away the reproach which that ignominious rout left on the Irish name. Yet, even before the day closed, it was abundantly proved that the reproach was unjust. Richard Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, under his command, they made a gallant though an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the day. They maintained a desperate fight in the bed of the river with Solmes's Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give

*Hamilton's gallantry.*

ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward the rear ranks which were still up to the breast in the water. "On; on; my lads: to glory; to glory." Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, and who had thence watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, now thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armor he rode through the river, and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on," he cried in French, pointing to the Popish squadrons; "Come on, gentlemen: there are your persecutors." Those were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him; but he was already a corpse. Two sabre wounds were on his head; and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same moment Walker, while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the man, was shot dead. During near half an hour the battle continued to rage along the southern shore of the river. All was smoke, dust and din. Old soldiers were heard to say that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But, just at this conjuncture, William came up with the left wing. He

*Caillemot's bravery.*

*Death of Schomberg.*

*Arrival of the left wing.*

had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the King was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand, —for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage,—and led his men to the place where the fight was the hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge. There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, till William rallied them and turned the chase back.

*The last stand.*

And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. It was enough that these gallant soldiers had disputed the field till they were left without support, without hope, without guidance, till their bravest leader was a captive, and till their King had fled.

*James's cowardice.*

Whether James had owed his early reputation for valor to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he was generally believed to possess not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene

intrepidity which is the virtue of great commanders. It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril, none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity, of friends devoted to his cause and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation, were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a King come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, come to fight in the holiest of crusades. If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donore, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might

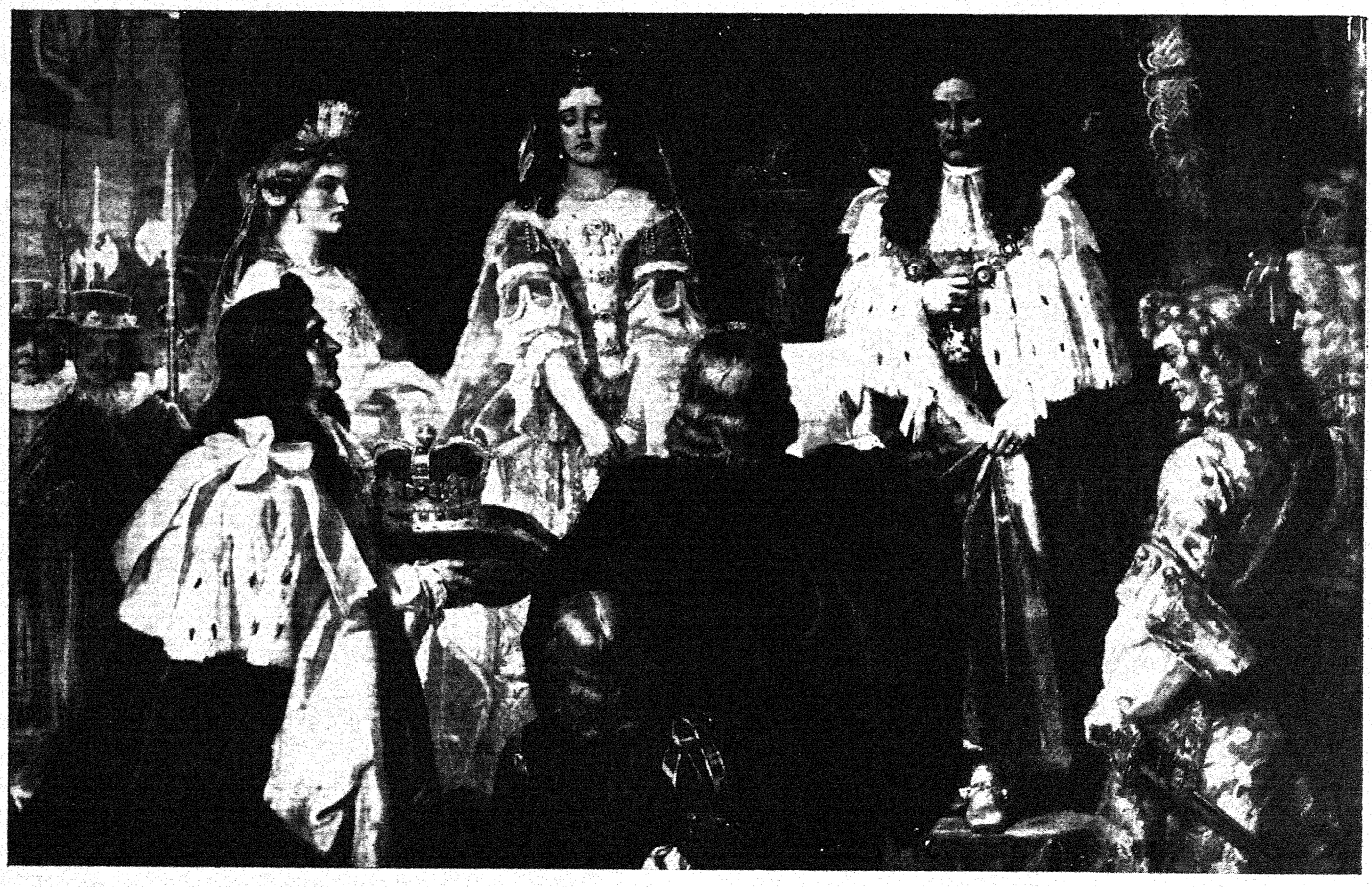
*William's heroism.*

be intercepted, and galloped toward Dublin. He was escorted by a bodyguard under the command of Sarsfield, who had, on that day, had no opportunity of displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed that he possessed. The French auxiliaries, who had been employed the whole morning in keeping William's right wing in check, covered the flight of the beaten army. They were, indeed, in some danger of being broken and swept away by the torrent of runaways, all pressing to get first to the pass of Duleek, and were forced to fire repeatedly on these despicable allies. The retreat was, however, effected with less loss than might have been expected. For even the admirers of William owned that he did not show in the pursuit the energy which even his detractors acknowledged that he had shown in the battle. Perhaps his physical infirmities, his hurt, and the fatigue which he had undergone, had made him incapable of bodily or mental exertion. Of the last forty hours he had passed thirty-five on horseback. Schomberg, who might have supplied his place, was no more. It was said in the camp that the King could not do everything, and that what was not done by him was not done at all.

*The retreat.*

*Small losses.*

The slaughter had been less than on any battlefield of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish only about fifteen hundred had fallen; but they were almost all cavalry, the flower of the army, brave and well disciplined men, whose place could not easily be supplied.



WILLIAM AND MARY RECEIVING THEIR CROWNS AT WHITEHALL (*Page* 28)

FROM THE PAINTING BY WARD

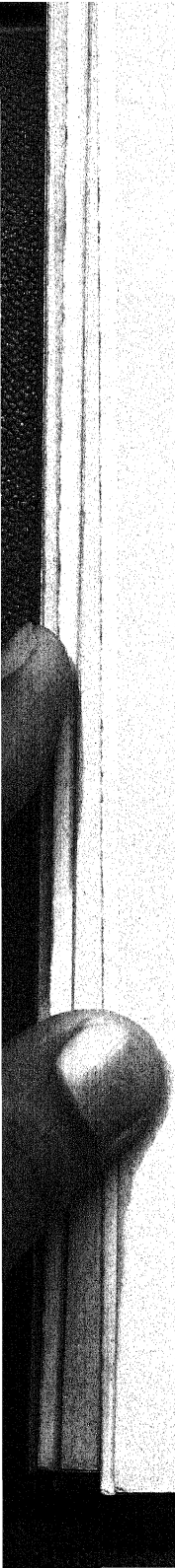


William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced those orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who asked for quarter. The King ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot.

The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men; but among them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honor was paid. The only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid was that venerable Abbey, hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes and poets. It was announced that the brave veteran should have a public funeral at Westminster. In the meantime his corpse was embalmed with such skill as could be found in the camp, and was deposited in a leaden coffin.

*Honors paid to Schomberg.*

[In 1690, the siege of Limerick occurs; the battle of Fleurus takes place; England and Holland induce the Duke of Savoy to grant toleration to Protestants; in 1691, Limerick surrenders and hostilities cease in Ireland; Mons surrenders to the French, who storm Barcelona and Alicant; and Prince Louis of Baden defeats the Turks.]



# THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE

## (A.D. 1692)

### THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

MEANWHILE the Master of Stair was forming, in concert with Breadalbane and Argyle, a plan for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. It was necessary to take the King's pleasure, not, indeed, as to the details of what was to be done, but as to the question whether Mac Ian and his people should or should not be treated as rebels out of the pale of the ordinary law. The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. He knew that they had not come in by the prescribed day. That they had come in after that day he did not know. If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought that so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the devastations and depredations from which a quiet and industrious population had suffered so much ought not to be lost.

*William's responsibility.*

An order was laid before him for signature. He

signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, did not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read: and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. But, even on the supposition that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for blaming him. That order, directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus: "As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. If William had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his secretary, he would probably have understood them to mean that

*The order.*

*One of the first duties of government.*

*William's understanding.*

Glencoe was to be occupied by troops, that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand, that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes, that some active young freebooters, who were more used to handle the broadsword than the plow, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet laborers, were to be sent to the army in the Low Countries, that others were to be transported to the American plantations, and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed and required to give hostages for good behavior. A plan very nearly resembling this had, we know, actually been the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Edinburgh. There can be little doubt that William would have deserved well of his people if he had, in this manner, extirpated not only the tribe of Mac Ian, but every Highland tribe whose calling was to steal cattle and burn houses.

*The Master of Stair's plan.*

The extirpation planned by the Master of Stair was of a different kind. His design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, the whole damnable race. Such was the language in which his hatred vented itself. He studied the geography of the wild country which surrounded Glencoe, and made his arrangements with infernal skill. If possible, the blow must be quick, and crushing, and altogether unexpected. But if Mac Ian should apprehend

danger and should attempt to take refuge in the territories of his neighbors, he must find every road barred. The pass of Rannoch must be secured. The Laird of Weems, who was powerful in Strath Tay, must be told that, if he harbors the outlaws, he does so at his peril.

*Breadalbane's willingness.*

Breadalbane promised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on one side, Mac Callum More on another. It was fortunate, the secretary wrote, that it was winter. This was the time to maul the wretches. The nights were so long, the mountain tops so cold and stormy, that even the hardiest men could not long bear exposure to the open air without a roof or a spark of fire. That the women and children could find shelter in the desert was quite impossible. While he wrote thus, no thought that he was committing a great wickedness crossed his mind. He was happy in the approbation of his own conscience. Duty, justice, nay charity and mercy, were the names under which he disguised his cruelty; nor is it by any means improbable that the disguise imposed upon himself.

*Hill's humanity.*

Hill, who commanded the forces assembled at Fort William, was not intrusted with the execution of the design. He seems to have been a humane man; he was much distressed when he learned that the government was determined on severity; and it was probably thought that his heart might fail him in the most critical moment. He was directed to put a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel

Hamilton. To Hamilton a significant hint was conveyed that he had now an excellent opportunity of establishing his character in the estimation of those who were at the head of affairs. Of the troops intrusted to him a large proportion were Campbells, and belonged to a regiment lately raised by Argyle, and called by Argyle's name. It was probably thought that, on such an occasion, humanity might prove too strong for the mere habit of military obedience, and that little reliance could be placed on hearts which had not been ulcerated by a feud such as had long raged between the people of Mac Ian and the people of Mac Callum More.

*Hamilton's instructions.*

Had Hamilton marched openly against the Glencoe men and put them to the edge of the sword, the act would probably not have wanted apologists, and most certainly would not have wanted precedents. But the Master of Stair had strongly recommended a different mode of proceeding. If the least alarm were given, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and to hunt them down in so wild a region would, even with all the help that Breadalbane and Argyle could give, be a long and difficult business. "Better," he wrote, "not meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. When the thing is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." He was obeyed; and it was determined that the Glencoe men should perish, not by military execution, but by the most dastardly and perfidious form of assassination.

*Extermination by assassination.*

On the first of February a hundred and twenty sol-

diers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Captain Campbell was commonly called in Scotland Glenlyon, from the pass in which his property lay. He had every qualification for the service on which he was employed, an unblushing forehead, a smooth lying tongue, and a heart of adamant. He was also one of the few Campbells who were likely to be trusted and welcomed by the Macdonalds; for his niece was married to Alexander, the second son of Mac Ian.

*Campbell's treachery.*

The sight of the red coats approaching caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the chief, came, accompanied by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers, and asked what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered that the soldiers came as friends, and wanted nothing but quarters. They were kindly received, and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community. Glenlyon and several of his men were taken into the house of a tacksman who was named, from the cluster of cabins over which he exercised authority, Inverriggen. Lindsay was accommodated nearer to the abode of the old chief. Auchintriater, one of the principal men of the clan, who governed the small hamlet of Auchnaion, found room there for a party commanded by a sergeant named Barbour. Provisions were liberally supplied. There was no want of beef, which had probably fattened in distant pastures; nor was any payment demanded: for in hospi-

*Reception of the military.*

tality, as in thievery, the Gaelic marauders rivalled the Bedouins. During twelve days the soldiers lived familiarly with the people of the glen. Old Mac Ian, who had before felt many misgivings as to the relation in which he stood to the government, seems to have been pleased with the visit. The officers passed much of their time with him and his family. The long evenings were cheerfully spent by the peat fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James's farewell gift to his Highland supporters. Glenlyon appeared to be warmly attached to his niece and her husband Alexander. Every day he came to their house to take his morning draught. Meanwhile he observed with minute attention all the avenues by which, when the signal for the slaughter should be given, the Macdonalds might attempt to escape to the hills; and he reported the result of his observations to Hamilton.

*Highland hospitality.*

Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of February for the deed. He hoped that, before that time, he should reach Glencoe with four hundred men, and should have stopped all the earths in which the old fox and his two cubs,—so Mac Ian and his sons were nicknamed by the murderers,—could take refuge. But, at five precisely, whether Hamilton had arrived or not, Glenlyon was to fall on, and to slay every Macdonald under seventy.

*Hamilton's arrangements.*

The night was rough. Hamilton and his troops made slow progress, and were long after their time. While they were contending with the wind and snow, Glenlyon was supping and playing at cards with those whom he meant to butcher before daybreak. He and Lieutenant Lindsay had engaged themselves to dine with the old chief on the morrow.

*Suspicions of evil.*

Late in the evening a vague suspicion that some evil was intended crossed the mind of the chief's eldest son. The soldiers were evidently in a restless state; and some of them uttered strange cries. Two men, it is said, were overheard whispering. "I do not like this job," one of them muttered: "I should be glad to fight the Macdonalds. But to kill men in their beds—" "We must do as we are bid," answered another voice. "If there is anything wrong, then our officers must answer for it."

John Macdonald was so uneasy that, soon after midnight, he went to Glenlyon's quarters. Glenlyon and his men were all up, and seemed to be getting their arms ready for action. John, much alarmed, asked what these preparations meant. Glenlyon was profuse of friendly assurances. "Some of Glengarry's people have been harrying the country. We are getting ready to march against them. You are quite safe. Do you think that, if you were in any danger, I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife?" John's suspicions were quieted. He returned to his house, and lay down to rest.

It was five in the morning. Hamilton and his men were still some miles off; and the avenues which they were to have secured were open. But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverriggen, and nine other Macdonalds, were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do anything: he would go anywhere: he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

*The massacre.*

At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. "Well," said the Sergeant, "I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten." The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

*Escape of Auchintriater.*

Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief and had asked for admission in friendly lan-



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*Death of the chief.*

guage. The door was opened. Mac Ian, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers: but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day.

*Blunders of the assassins.*

The statesman to whom chiefly this great crime is to be ascribed had planned it with consummate ability: but the execution was complete in nothing but in guilt and infamy. A succession of blunders saved three-fourths of the Glencoe men from the fate of their chief. All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre Hamilton and Glenlyon possessed in perfection. But neither seems to have had much professional skill. Hamilton had arranged his plan without making allowance for bad weather, and this in a country and at a season when the weather was very likely to be bad. The consequence was that the fox earths, as he called them, were not stopped in time. Glenlyon and his men committed the error of despatching their hosts with firearms instead of using the cold steel. The peal and flash of gun after gun gave notice, from three different parts of the valley at once, that murder was doing. From fifty cottages the half naked peasantry fled under cover of the night to the recesses of their pathless glen. Even the sons of Mac Ian,

*Escape of Macdonalds.*

who had been especially marked out for destruction, contrived to escape. They were roused from sleep by faithful servants. John, who, by the death of his father, had become the patriarch of the tribe, quitted his dwelling just as twenty soldiers, with fixed bayonets, marched up to it. It was broad day long before Hamilton arrived. He found the work not even half performed. About thirty corpses lay wallowing in blood on the dunghills before the doors. One or two women were seen among the number, and, a yet more fearful and piteous sight, a little hand, which had been lopped in the tumult of the butchery from some infant. One aged Macdonald was found alive. He was probably too infirm to fly, and, as he was above seventy, was not included in the orders under which Glenlyon had acted. Hamilton murdered the old man in cold blood. The deserted hamlets were then set on fire; and the troops departed, driving away with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two hundred of the small, shaggy ponies of the Highlands.

*Sufferings of the fugitives.*

It is said, and may but too easily be believed, that the sufferings of the fugitives were terrible. How many old men, how many women with babes in their arms, sank down and slept their last sleep in the snow; how many having crawled, spent with toil and hunger, into nooks among the precipices, died in those dark holes, and were picked to the bone by the mountain ravens, can never be known. But it is probable that those who perished by

cold, weariness and want were not less numerous than those who were slain by the assassins. When the troops had retired, the Macdonalds crept out of the caverns of Glencoe, ventured back to the spot where the huts had formerly stood, collected the scorched corpses from among the smoking ruins, and performed some rude rites of sepulture. The tradition runs that the hereditary bard of the tribe took his seat on a rock which overhung the place of slaughter, and poured forth a long lament over his murdered brethren and his desolate home. Eighty years later that sad dirge was still repeated by the population of the valley.

*The death dirge.*

The survivors might well apprehend that they had escaped the shot and the sword only to perish by famine. The whole domain was a waste. Houses, barns, furniture, implements of husbandry, herds, flocks, horses, were gone. Many months must elapse before the clan would be able to raise on its own ground the means of supporting even the most miserable existence.

# THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

## (A.D. 1692)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

BEFORE the end of April the English fleet was ready to sail. Three noble ships, just launched from our dockyards, appeared for the first time on the water. William had been hastening the maritime preparations of the United Provinces; and his exertions had been successful. On the 29th of April a fine squadron from the Texel appeared in the Downs. Soon came the North Holland squadron, the Maes squadron, the Zealand squadron. The whole force of the confederate powers was assembled at Saint Helen's in the second week of May, more than ninety sail of the line, manned by between thirty and forty thousand of the finest seamen of the two great maritime nations. Russell had the chief command. He was assisted by Sir Ralph Delaval, Sir John Ashley, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear Admiral Carter, and Rear Admiral Rooke. Of the Dutch officers Van Almonde was the highest in rank.

*Maritime preparations.*

No mightier armament had ever appeared in the Brit-

ish Channel. There was little reason for apprehending that such a force could be defeated in a fair conflict. Nevertheless, there was great uneasiness in London. It was known that there was a Jacobite party in the navy. Alarming rumors had worked their way round from France. It was said that the enemy reckoned on the co-operation of some of those officers on whose fidelity, in this crisis, the safety of the State might depend. Russell, as far as can now be discovered, was still unsuspected. But others, who were probably less criminal, had been more indiscreet. At all the coffee-houses admirals and captains were mentioned by name as traitors who ought to be instantly cashiered, if not shot. It was even confidently affirmed that some of the guilty had been put under arrest, and others turned out of the service. The Queen and her counsellors were in a great strait. It was not easy to say whether the danger of trusting the suspected persons or the danger of removing them were the greater. Mary, with many painful misgivings, resolved, and the event proved that she resolved wisely, to treat the evil reports as calumnious, to make a solemn appeal to the honor of the accused gentlemen, and then to trust the safety of her kingdom to their national and professional spirit.

*Uneasiness in London.*

*Mary's wise conduct.*

On the 15th of May a great assembly of officers was convoked at Saint Helen's on board the *Britannia,* a fine three-decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The Admiral told them that he had received a despatch

which he was charged to read to them. It was from Nottingham. The Queen, the secretary wrote, had been informed that stories deeply affecting the character of the navy were in circulation. It had even been affirmed that she had found herself under the necessity of dismissing many officers. But Her Majesty was determined to believe nothing against those brave servants of the State. The gentlemen who had been so foully slandered might be assured that she placed entire reliance on them. This letter was admirably calculated to work on those to whom it was addressed. Very few of them probably had been guilty of any worse offence than rash and angry talk over their wine. They were as yet only grumblers. If they had fancied that they were marked men, they might, in self-defence, have become traitors. They became enthusiastically loyal as soon as they were assured that the Queen reposed entire confidence in their loyalty. They eagerly signed an address in which they entreated her to believe that they would, with the utmost resolution and alacrity, venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and Popish invaders. "God," they added, "preserve your person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms; and let all your people say Amen."

*Its happy consequences.*

The sincerity of these professions was soon brought to the test. A few hours after the meeting on board of the *Britannia* the masts of Tourville's squadron were seen from the cliffs of Portland. One messenger galloped with

*The fleet set sail, May 17.*

the news from Weymouth to London, and roused Whitehall at three in the morning. Another took the coast road, and carried the intelligence to Russell. All was ready; and on the morning of the 17th of May the allied fleet stood out to sea.

*Tourville's instructions.*

Tourville had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line. But he had received positive orders to protect the descent on England, and not to decline a battle. Though these orders had been given before it was known at Versailles that the Dutch and English fleets had joined, he was not disposed to take on himself the responsibility of disobedience. He still remembered with bitterness the reprimand which his extreme caution had drawn upon him after the fight of Beachy Head. He would not again be told that he was a timid and unenterprising commander, that he had no courage but the vulgar courage of a common sailor. He was also persuaded that the odds against him were rather apparent than real. He believed, on the authority of James and Melfort, that the English seamen, from the flag officers down to the cabin boys, were Jacobites. Those who fought would fight with half a heart; and there would probably be numerous desertions at the most critical moment. Animated by such hopes he sailed from Brest, steered first toward the northeast, came in sight of the coast of Dorsetshire, and then struck across the Channel toward La Hogue, where the army which he was to convoy to England had already begun to embark

on board of the transports. He was within a few leagues of Barfleur when, before daybreak, on the morning of the 19th of May, he saw the great armament of the allies stretching along the eastern horizon. He determined to bear down on them. By eight the two lines of battle were formed; but it was eleven before the firing began. It soon became plain that the English, from the Admiral downward, were resolved to do their duty. Russell had visited all his ships, and exhorted all his crews. "If your commanders play false," he said, "overboard with them, and with myself the first." There was no defection. There was no slackness. Carter was the first who broke the French line. He was struck by a splinter of one of his own yardarms, and fell dying on the deck. He would not be carried below. He would not let go his sword. "Fight the ship," were his last words: "fight the ship as long as she can swim." The battle lasted till four in the afternoon. The roar of the guns was distinctly heard more than twenty miles off by the army which was encamped on the coast of Normandy. During the earlier part of the day the wind was favorable to the French: they were opposed to half of the allied fleet; and against that half they maintained the conflict with their usual courage and with more than their usual seamanship. After a hard and doubtful fight of five hours, Tourville thought that enough had been done to maintain the honor of the white flag, and began to draw off. But by this time the wind had veered, and was with the allies. They were

*Tourville approaches La Hogue.*

*His vain hopes.*

*Russell's exhortations.*

*Tourville's retreat.*

now able to avail themselves of their great superiority of force. They came on fast. The retreat of the French became a flight. Tourville fought his own ship desperately. She was named, in allusion to Lewis's favorite emblem, the *Royal Sun,* and was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world. It was reported among the English sailors that she was adorned with an image of the Great King, and that he appeared there, as he appeared in the Place of Victories, with vanquished nations in chains beneath his feet. The gallant ship, surrounded by enemies, lay like a great fortress on the sea, scattering death on every side from her hundred and four portholes. She was so formidably manned that all attempts to board her failed. Long after sunset, she got clear of her assailants, and, with all her scuppers spouting blood, made for the coast of Normandy. She had suffered so much that Tourville hastily removed his flag to a ship of ninety guns which was named the *Ambitious.* By this time his fleet was scattered far over the sea. About twenty of his smallest ships made their escape by a road which was too perilous for any courage but the courage of despair. In the double darkness of night and of a thick sea fog, they ran, with all their sails spread, through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the Race of Alderney, and, by a strange good fortune, arrived without a single disaster at Saint Maloes. The pursuers did not venture to follow the fugitives into that terrible strait, the place of innumerable shipwrecks.

*The* Royal Sun.

*Flight of the French*

Those French vessels which were too bulky to venture into the Race of Alderney fled to the havens of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three-deckers reached Cherburg in safety. The *Ambitious,* with twelve other ships, all first rates or second rates, took refuge in the Bay of La Hogue, close to the headquarters of the army of James.

The three ships which had fled to Cherburg were closely chased by an English squadron under the command of Delaval. He found them hauled up into shoal water where no large man-of-war could get at them. He therefore determined to attack them with his fireships and boats. The service was gallantly and successfully performed. In a short time the *Royal Sun* and her two consorts were burned to ashes. Part of the crews escaped to shore, part fell into the hands of the English.

*Boat and fireship attack.*

Meanwhile Russell with the greater part of his victorious fleet had blockaded the port of La Hogue. Here, as at Cherburg, the French men-of-war had been drawn up into shallow water. They lay close to the camp of the army which was destined for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under a fort named Lisset. The rest lay under the guns of another fort named Saint Vaast, where James had fixed his headquarters, and where the Union flag, variegated by the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew, hung by the side of the white flag of France. Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries which, it was thought, would deter the

*La Hogue blockaded.*

boldest enemy from approaching either Fort Lisset or Fort Saint Vaast. James, however, who knew something of English seamen, was not perfectly at ease, and proposed to send strong bodies of soldiers on board of the ships. But Tourville would not consent to put such a slur on his profession.

*James is ill at ease.*

Russell meanwhile was preparing for an attack. On the afternoon of the 23d of May all was ready. A flotilla consisting of sloops, of fireships, and of two hundred boats, was intrusted to the command of Rooke. The whole armament was in the highest spirits. The rowers, flushed by success, and animated by the thought that they were going to fight under the eyes of the French and Irish troops who had been assembled for the purpose of subjugating England, pulled manfully and with loud huzzas toward the six huge wooden castles which lay close to Fort Lisset. The French, though an eminently brave people, have always been more liable to sudden panics than their phlegmatic neighbors the English and Germans. On this day there was a panic both in the fleet and in the army. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats, and would have led them to encounter the enemy in the bay. But his example and his exhortations were vain. His boats turned round and fled in confusion. The ships were abandoned. The cannonade from Fort Lisset was so feeble and ill directed that it did no execution. The regiments on the beach, after wasting a few musket shots, drew off. The English

*Rooke's boat attack.*

boarded the men-of-war, set them on fire, and having performed this great service without the loss of a single life, retreated at a late hour with the retreating tide. The bay was in a blaze during the night; and now and then a loud explosion announced that the flames had reached a powder room or a tier of loaded guns. At eight the next morning the tide came back strong; and with the tide came back Rooke and his two hundred boats. The enemy made a faint attempt to defend the vessels which were near Fort Saint Vaast. During a few minutes the batteries did some execution among the crews of our skiffs; but the struggle was soon over. The French poured fast out of their ships on one side: the English poured in as fast on the other, and, with loud shouts, turned the captured guns against the shore. The batteries were speedily silenced. James and Melfort, Bellefonds and Tourville, looked on in helpless despondency while the second conflagration proceeded. The conquerors, leaving the ships of war in flames, made their way into an inner basin where many transports lay. Eight of these vessels were set on fire. Several were taken in tow. The rest would have been either destroyed or carried off, had not the sea again begun to ebb. It was impossible to do more; and the victorious flotilla slowly retired, insulting the hostile camp with a thundering chant of "God save the King."

*Capture of the French ships.*

*Renewed triumph.*

Thus ended, at noon on the 24th of May, the great conflict which had raged during five days over a wide

*Significance of the victory.*

extent of sea and shore. One English fireship had perished in its calling. Sixteen French men-of-war, all noble vessels, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the keel. The battle is called, from the place where it terminated, the battle of La Hogue.

*Reception of the news in London.*

The news was received in London with boundless exultation. In the fight on the open sea, indeed, the numerical superiority of the allies had been so great that they had little reason to boast of their success. But the courage and skill with which the crews of the English boats had, in a French harbor, in sight of a French army, and under the fire of French batteries, destroyed a fine French fleet, amply justified the pride with which our fathers pronounced the name of La Hogue. That we may fully enter into their feelings, we must remember that this was the first great check that had ever been given to the arms of Louis the Fourteenth, and the first great victory that the English had gained over the French since the day of Agincourt. The stain left on our fame by the shameful defeat of Beachy Head was effaced. This time the glory was all our own. The Dutch had indeed done their duty, as they have always done it in maritime war, whether fighting on our side or against us, whether victorious or vanquished. But the English had borne the brunt of the fight. Russell, who commanded in chief, was an Englishman. Delaval, who directed the attack on Cherburg, was an Englishman.

Rooke, who led the flotilla into the Bay of La Hogue, was an Englishman. The only two officers of note who had fallen, Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings of the *Sandwich,* were Englishmen. Yet the pleasure with which the good news was received here must not be ascribed solely or chiefly to national pride. The island was safe. The pleasant pastures, cornfields and commons of Hampshire and Surrey would not be the seat of war. The houses and gardens, the kitchens and dairies, the cellars and plate chests, the wives and daughters of our gentry and clergy would not be at the mercy of Irish Rapparees, who had sacked the dwellings and skinned the cattle of the Englishry of Leinster, or of French dragoons accustomed to live at free quarters on the Protestants of Auvergne. Whigs and Tories joined in thanking God for this great deliverance; and the most respectable nonjurors could not but be glad at heart that the rightful King was not to be brought back by an army of foreigners.

*National safety.*

*Thanksgiving of Whigs and Tories.*

[In 1692, a witch persecution starts in Salem; Luxembourg defeats King William at Steenkirke. In 1693, the French destroy the Smyrna merchant fleet and gain successes against the allies, and the Palatinate is ravaged; a terrible eruption of Etna and earthquake in Sicily nearly destroy Messina, Syracuse and Catania; Dieppe, Havre-du-Grace and Dunkirk are bombarded. The English Parliament passes the Triennial Act; the Czar Peter

employs a Dutch shipwright to build him a vessel at Archangel; and the University of Halle is established. In 1694, the French Academy publishes its Dictionary. William forms the Junto and thus originates the Cabinet system in England. The Bank of England is founded. Königsmarck, the lover of Sophia Dorothea, wife of George of Hanover, is murdered. In 1695, William gains the greatest success of his life in the capture of Namur. The Turks defeat a Venetian fleet and the Imperials on land. In 1696, a plot against William's life greatly strengthens his position; the Eddystone lighthouse is built. In 1697, the Peace of Ryswick is signed. Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Zenta. Charles XI. of Sweden dies and is succeeded by his son, Charles XII. Peter the Czar travels in Europe and works as a ship-carpenter in Holland. In 1698, the partition of the Spanish monarchy is settled by a treaty between Great Britain, France and the United Provinces; a Scotch colony is established on the Isthmus of Darien; Peter returns to Russia and disbands the rebellious Strelitz guards; the Society for Propagating Christianity is formed in London. The treaty of Carlowitz concludes peace with the Turks. In 1699, Christian V. of Denmark dies and his son, Frederic IV., joins Poland and Russia in a league against Sweden. Peter introduces the computation of time by the Christian Era into Russia. In 1700, Louis XIV. proclaims his grandson King of Spain as Philip V.; Charles XII. defeats the Russians at Nerva; Peter pro-

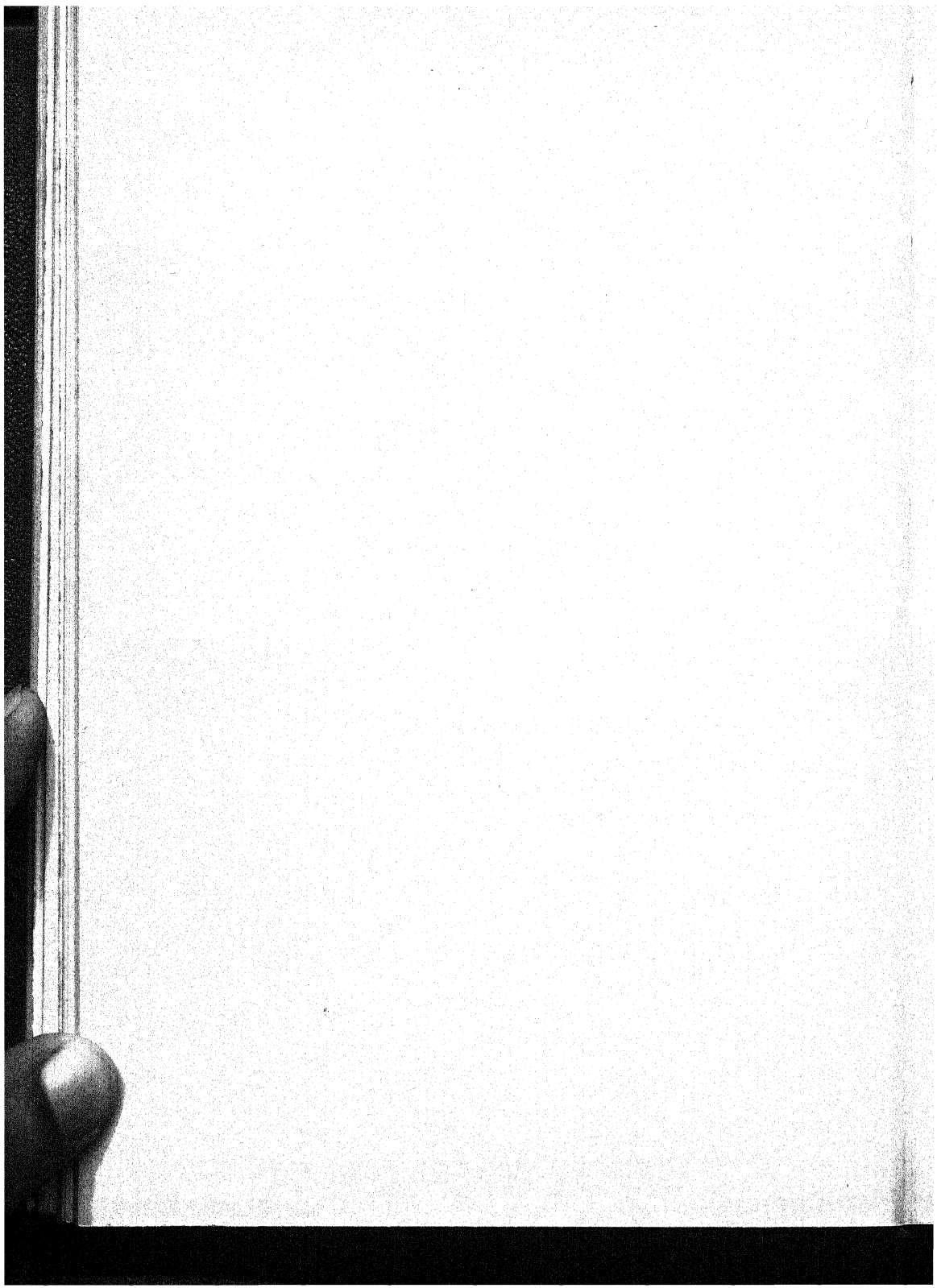
*Bank of England founded.*

*Peter the Great a ship-carpenter.*

claims himself the head of the Russian Church and abolishes the patriarchate. Captain Kidd is convicted of piracy and executed in 1701; the Elector of Brandenburg assumes the title of Frederick I., King of Prussia. In 1702, Charles XII. victoriously invades Poland; the King of Prussia abolishes serfdom, founds the order of the Black Eagle, and founds the Academy of Berlin under Leibnitz. England and Portugal form the Methuen treaty of commerce in 1703; and the Archduke of Austria assumes the title of Charles III., King of Spain, and is supported by the English, Dutch and Portuguese. Peter lays the foundation of St. Petersburg; the Janizaries revolt. Gibraltar surrenders to Sir George Rooke in 1704.]

*Peter becomes head of the Russian Church.*

*St. Petersburg is founded.*



# THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM

## (A.D. 1704)

E. S. CREASY

THOUGH more slowly molded and less imposingly vast than the empire of Napoleon, the power which Louis XIV. had acquired and was acquiring at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century was almost equally menacing to the general liberties of Europe. Tested by the amount of *permanent* aggrandizement which each procured for France, the ambition of the royal Bourbon was more successful than were the enterprises of the imperial Corsican. All the provinces that Bonaparte conquered were rent again from France within twenty years from the date when the very earliest of them was acquired. France is not stronger by a single city or a single acre for all the devastating wars of the Consulate and the Empire. But she still possesses Franche-Comté, Alsace, and part of Flanders. She has still the extended boundaries which Louis XIV. gave her.

*Empire of Louis XIV.*

When Louis XIV. began to govern, he found all the

materials for a strong government ready to his hand. Richelieu had completely tamed the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, and had subverted the "imperium in imperio" of the Huguenots. The faction of the Frondeurs in Mazarin's time had had the effect of making the Parisian Parliament utterly hateful and contemptible in the eyes of the nation. The Assemblies of the States-General were obsolete. The royal authority alone remained. The King was the State. Louis knew his position. He fearlessly avowed it, and he fearlessly acted up to it.

*His absolute power.*

While France was thus strong and united in herself, what European power was there fit to cope with her or keep her in check?

*Impotence of the rest of Europe.*

"As to Germany, the ambitious projects of the German branch of Austria had been entirely defeated, the peace of the Empire had been restored, and almost a new constitution formed, or an old revived, by the treaties of Westphalia; *nay, the imperial eagle was not only fallen, but her wings were clipped.*"

As to Spain, the Spanish branch of the Austrian house had sunk equally low. Philip II. left his successors a ruined monarchy.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that France, in the first war of Louis XIV., despised the opposition of both branches of the once predominant house of Austria. Indeed, in Germany, the French King acquired allies among the princes of the Empire against the Em-

peror himself. He had a still stronger support in Austria's misgovernment of her own subjects. "France became a sure though secret ally of the Turks as well as the Hungarians, and has found her account in it by keeping the Emperor in perpetual alarms on that side, while she has ravaged the Empire and the Low Countries on the other." [1]

*France's allies.*

If we turn to the two only remaining European powers of any importance at that time, to England and to Holland, we find the position of our own country as to European politics, from 1660 to 1688, most painful to contemplate. From 1660 to 1688, "England, by the return of the Stuarts, was reduced to a nullity." The words are Michelet's, and, though severe, they are just.

*England and Holland.*

Holland alone, of all the European powers, opposed from the very beginning a steady and uniform resistance to the ambition and power of the French King. It was against Holland that the fiercest attacks of France were made, and, though often apparently on the eve of complete success, they were always ultimately baffled by the stubborn bravery of the Dutch, and the heroism of their great leader, William of Orange. When he became King of England, the power of this country was thrown decidedly into the scale against France; but though the contest was thus rendered less unequal, France had the general superiority in every war and in every treaty; and the commencement of the Eighteenth Century found the

[1] Bolingbroke.

last league against her dissolved, all the forces of confederates against her dispersed, and many disbanded.

*Twofold ambition of Louis XIV.*

It must be borne in mind that the ambition of Louis was twofold. Its immediate object was to conquer and annex to France the neighboring provinces and towns that were most convenient for the increase of her strength, but the ulterior object of Louis, from the time of his marriage to the Spanish Infanta in 1659, was to acquire for the house of Bourbon the whole Empire of Spain. As the time passed on, and the prospect of Charles II. of Spain dying without lineal heirs became more and more certain, so did the claims of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish crown after his death become matters of urgent interest to French ambition on the one hand, and to the other powers of Europe on the other. At length the unhappy King of Spain died. By his will he appointed Philip, Duke of Anjou, one of Louis XIV.'s grandsons, to succeed him on the throne of Spain, and strictly forbade any partition of his dominions. Louis well knew that a general European war would follow if he accepted for his house the crown thus bequeathed. But he had been preparing for this crisis throughout his reign. He sent his grandson into Spain as King Philip V. of that country, addressing to him, on his departure, the memorable words, "There are no longer any Pyrenees."

*Will of Charles II.*

The Empire, which now received the grandson of Louis as its King, comprised, besides Spain itself, the strongest part of the Netherlands, Sardinia, Sicily,

Naples, the principality of Milan, and other possessions in Italy, the Philippines and Manilla Islands in Asia, and in the New World, besides California and Florida, the greatest part of Central and Southern America. Philip was well received in Madrid, where he was crowned as King Philip V. in the beginning of 1701. The distant portions of his Empire sent in their adhesion; and the house of Bourbon, either by its French or Spanish troops, now had occupation both of the kingdom of Francis I., and of the fairest and amplest portions of the Empire of the great rival of Francis, Charles V.

*Spain's possessions.*

Loud was the wrath of Austria, whose princes were the rival claimants of the Bourbons for the Empire of Spain. The indignation of our William III., though not equally loud, was far more deep and energetic. By his exertions, a League against the house of Bourbon was formed between England, Holland, and the Austrian Emperor, which was subsequently joined by the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, by the Duke of Savoy, and by Denmark. Indeed, the alarm throughout Europe was now general and urgent. It was evident that Louis aimed at consolidating France and the Spanish dominions into one preponderating empire.

*League against the Bourbons.*

The death of King William, on the 8th of March, 1702, at first seemed likely to paralyze the League against France. A short time showed how vain the fears of some and the hope of others were. Queen Anne, within three days after her accession, went down to the House of

*Death of William.*

Lords, and there declared her resolution to support the measures planned by her predecessor. Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark, and by her accession to the English throne the confederacy against Louis obtained the aid of the troops of Denmark; but Anne's strong attachment to one of her female friends led to far more important advantages to the anti-Gallican confederacy than the acquisition of many armies, for it gave them Marlborough as their captain-general.

*Marlborough's ability.*

King William's knowledge of Marlborough's high abilities is said to have caused that sovereign in his last illness to recommend Marlborough to his successor as the fittest person to command her armies.

He was not only made captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad, but such was the authority of England in the council of the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough was so skilled in winning golden opinions from all whom he met with, that on his reaching The Hague he was received with transports of joy by the Dutch, and it was agreed by the heads of that republic, and the minister of the Emperor, that Marlborough should have the chief command of all the allied armies.

*His arduous station.*

It must, indeed, in justice to Marlborough, be borne in mind that mere military skill was by no means all that was required of him in his arduous and invidious station. Had it not been for his unrivalled patience and sweetness of temper, and his marvellous ability in discerning the character of those whom he had to act with,

his intuitive perception of those who were to be thoroughly trusted, and of those who were to be amused with the mere semblance of respect and confidence; had not Marlborough possessed and employed, while at the head of the allied armies, all the qualifications of a polished courtier and a great statesman, he never would have led the allied armies to the Danube. The confederacy would not have held together for a single year.

*War declared against France.*

War was formally declared by the allies against France on the 4th of May, 1702. The principal scenes of its operations were, at first, Flanders, the Upper Rhine, and North Italy. Marlborough headed the allied troops in Flanders during the first two years of the war, and took some towns from the enemy, but nothing decisive occurred. Nor did any actions of importance take place during this period between the rival armies in Italy. But in the centre of that line, from north to south, from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Po, along which the war was carried on, the generals of Louis XIV. acquired advantages in 1703 which threatened one chief member of the Grand Alliance with utter destruction. France had obtained the important assistance of Bavaria as her confederate in the war. The elector of this powerful German State made himself master of the strong fortress of Ulm, and opened a communication with the French armies on the Upper Rhine. By this junction, the troops of Louis were enabled to assail the Emperor in the very heart of Germany. In the autumn

*Bavaria assists France*

of the year 1703, the combined armies of the elector and French King completely defeated the Imperialists in Bavaria: and in the following winter they made themselves masters of the important cities of Augsburg and Passau. Meanwhile the French army of the Upper Rhine and Moselle had beaten the allied armies opposed to them, and taken Treves with Landau. At the same time, the discontents in Hungary with Austria again broke out into open insurrection, so as to distract the attention and complete the terror of the Emperor and his council at Vienna.

*French successes.*

Louis XIV. ordered the next campaign to be commenced by his troops on a scale of grandeur and with a boldness of enterprise such as even Napoleon's military schemes have seldom equalled. On the extreme left of the line of war, in the Netherlands, the French armies were to act only on the defensive. The fortresses in the hands of the French there were so many and so strong that no serious impression seemed likely to be made by the allies on the French frontier in that quarter during one campaign, and that one campaign was to give France such triumphs elsewhere as would (it was hoped) determine the war. Large detachments were therefore to be made from the French force in Flanders, and they were to be led by Marshal Villeroy to the Moselle and Upper Rhine. The French army already in the neighborhood of those rivers was to march under Marshal Tallard through the Black Forest and join the Elector of Bavaria,

*Plans of campaign.*

and the French troops that were already with the elector under Marshal Marsin. Meanwhile the French army of Italy was to advance through the Tyrol into Austria, and the whole forces were to combine between the Danube and the Inn. A strong body of troops was to be despatched into Hungary, to assist and organize the insurgents in that kingdom; and the French grand army of the Danube was then in collected and irresistible might to march upon Vienna, and dictate terms of peace to the Emperor.

*Anxiety of Marlborough.*

Marlborough had watched, with the deepest anxiety, the progress of the French arms on the Rhine and in Bavaria, and he saw the futility of carrying on a war of posts and sieges in Flanders, while death-blows to the Empire were being dealt on the Danube. He resolved, therefore, to let the war in Flanders languish for a year, while he moved with all the disposable forces that he could collect to the central scenes of decisive operations. Such a march was in itself difficult; but Marlborough had, in the first instance, to overcome the still greater difficulty of obtaining the consent and cheerful co-operation of the allies, especially of the Dutch, whose frontier it was proposed thus to deprive of the larger part of the force which had hitherto been its protection: to the general councils of his allies he only disclosed part of his daring scheme. He proposed to the Dutch that he should march from Flanders to the Upper Rhine and Moselle with the British troops and part of the foreign auxiliaries,

and commence vigorous operations against the French armies in that quarter, while General Auverquerque, with the Dutch and the remainder of the auxiliaries, maintained a defensive war in the Netherlands. Having with difficulty obtained the consent of the Dutch to this portion of his project, he exercised the same diplomatic zeal, with the same success, in urging the King of Prussia and other princes of the Empire to increase the number of the troops which they supplied, and to post them in places convenient for his own intended movements.

*Marlborough's scheme.*

*Marlborough's march.*

Marlborough commenced his celebrated march on the 19th of May. He had only marched a single day, when the series of interruptions, complaints, and requisitions from the other leaders of the allies began, to which he seemed subjected throughout his enterprise, and which would have caused its failure in the hands of any one not gifted with the firmness and the exquisite temper of Marlborough.

Marlborough reached the Rhine at Coblentz, where he crossed that river, and then marched along its left bank to Broubach and Mentz. Before even a blow was struck, his enterprise had paralyzed the enemy, and had materially released Austria from the pressure of the war. Villeroy, with his detachments from the French Flemish army, was completely bewildered by Marlborough's movements; and, unable to divine where it was that the English general meant to strike his blow, wasted away

*Villeroy's bewilderment.*

the early part of the summer between Flanders and the Moselle without effecting anything.

Marshal Tallard, who commanded forty-five thousand French at Strasburg, and who had been destined by Louis to march early in the year into Bavaria, thought that Marlborough's march along the Rhine was preliminary to an attack upon Alsace; and the marshal, therefore, kept back in order to protect France in that quarter. Marlborough skilfully encouraged his apprehensions, by causing a bridge to be constructed across the Rhine at Philipsburg, and by making the Landgrave of Hesse advance his artillery at Mannheim, as if for a siege at Landau. Meanwhile the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin, suspecting that Marlborough's design might be what it really proved to be, forbore to press upon the Austrians opposed to them, or to send troops into Hungary; they kept back so as to secure their communications with France. Thus, when Marlborough, at the beginning of June, left the Rhine and marched for the Danube, the numerous hostile armies were uncombined, and unable to check him.

*Tallard's apprehensions.*

*Marlborough marches for the Danube.*

"With such skill and science had this enterprise been concerted, that at the very moment when it assumed a specific direction, the enemy was no longer enabled to render it abortive. As the march was now to be bent toward the Danube, notice was given for the Prussians, Palatines, and Hessians, who were stationed on the Rhine, to order their march so as to join the main body

in its progress. At the same time, directions were sent to accelerate the advance of the Danish auxiliaries, who were marching from the Netherlands." [2]

*Meeting of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.*

Crossing the river Neckar, Marlborough marched in a southeastern direction to Mundelsheim, where he had his first personal interview with Prince Eugene. Thence, through a difficult and dangerous country, Marlborough continued his march against the Bavarians, whom he encountered on the 2d of July on the heights of the Schullenberg, close to Donauwert. Marlborough stormed their intrenched camp, crossed the Danube, took several strong places in Bavaria, and made himself completely master of the elector's dominions, except the fortified cities of Munich and Augsburg. But the elector's army, though defeated at Donauwert, was still numerous and strong: and at last Marshal Tallard, when thoroughly apprised of the real nature of Marlborough's movements, crossed the Rhine; and being suffered, through the supineness of the German general at Stollhoffen, to march without loss through the Black Forest, he united his powerful army at Biberbach, near Augsburg, with that of the elector and the French troops under Marshal Marsin, who had previously been co-operating with the Bavarians.

*Tallard joins Marsin.*

On the other hand, Marlborough recrossed the Danube, and on the 11th of August united his army with the Imperialist forces under Prince Eugene. The

[2] Coxe.

combined armies occupied a position near Hochstadt, a little higher up the left bank of the Danube than Donauwert, the scene of Marlborough's recent victory. The French marshals and the elector were now in position a little further to the east, between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and with the little stream of the Nebel between them and the troops of Marlborough and Eugene. The Gallo-Bavarian army consisted of about sixty thousand men, and they had sixty-one pieces of artillery. The army of the allies was about fifty-six thousand strong with fifty-two guns.

*Positions of the armies.*

The French and Bavarians were posted behind a little stream called the Nebel, which runs almost from north to south into the Danube immediately in front of the village of Blenheim. The Nebel flows along a little valley, and the French occupied the rising ground to the west of it. The village of Blenheim was the extreme right of their position, and the village of Lutzingen, about three miles north of Blenheim, formed their left. Beyond Lutzingen are the rugged high grounds of the Godd Berg and Eich Berg, on the skirts of which some detachments were posted, so as to secure the Gallo-Bavarian position from being turned on the left flank. The Danube secured their right flank; and it was only in front that they could be attacked. The villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen had been strongly palisaded and intrenched. Marshal Tallard, who held the chief command, took his station at Blenheim; the elector and Mar-

*Tallard's position at Blenheim.*

shal Marsin commanded on the left. Tallard garrisoned Blenheim with twenty-six battalions of French infantry and twelve squadrons of French cavalry. Marsin and the elector had twenty-two battalions of infantry and thirty-six squadrons of cavalry in front of the village of Lutzingen. The centre was occupied by fourteen battalions of infantry, including the celebrated Irish brigade. These were posted in the little hamlet of Oberglau, which lies somewhat nearer to Lutzingen than to Blenheim. Eighty squadrons of cavalry and seven battalions of foot were ranged between Oberglau and Blenheim. Thus the French position was very strong at each extremity, but was comparatively weak in the centre. Tallard seems to have relied on the swampy state of the part of the valley that reaches from below Oberglau to Blenheim for preventing any serious attack on this part of his line.

*Dispositions of the allies.*

The army of the allies was formed into two great divisions, the largest being commanded by the Duke in person, and being destined to act against Tallard, while Prince Eugene led the other division, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, and was intended to oppose the enemy under Marsin and the elector. As they approached the enemy, Marlborough's troops formed the left and the centre, while Eugene's formed the right of the entire army. Early in the morning of the 13th of August, the allies left their own camp and marched toward the enemy. A thick haze covered the ground, and it was not until the allied right and centre had advanced nearly

within cannon shot of the enemy that Tallard was aware of their approach. *The battle opens.*

He completed his preparations with what haste he could, and about eight o'clock a heavy fire of artillery was opened from the French right on the advancing left wing of the British. Marlborough ordered up some of his batteries to reply to it, and while the columns that were to form the allied left and centre deployed, and took up their proper stations in the line, a warm cannonade was kept up by the guns on both sides.

The ground which Eugene's columns had to traverse was peculiarly difficult, especially for the passage of the artillery, and it was nearly midday before he could get his troops into line opposite to Lutzingen. During this interval, Marlborough ordered divine service to be performed by the chaplains at the head of each regiment, and then rode along the lines, and found both officers and men in the highest spirits, and waiting impatiently for the signal for the attack. At length an aide-de-camp galloped up from the right with the welcome news that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly sent Lord Cutts, with a strong brigade of infantry, to assault the village of Blenheim, while he himself led the main body down the eastward slope of the valley of the Nebel, and prepared to effect the passage of the stream. *Eugene's difficulties.* *Cutts's assault on Blenheim.*

The assault on Blenheim, though bravely made, was repulsed with severe loss; and Marlborough, finding how strongly that village was garrisoned, desisted from *Attack on the French centre.*

any further attempts to carry it, and bent all his energies to breaking the enemy's line between Blenheim and Oberglau. Some temporary bridges had been prepared, and planks and fascines had been collected; and by the aid of these, and a little stone bridge which crossed the Nebel near a hamlet called Unterglau, that lay in the centre of the valley, Marlborough succeeded in getting several squadrons across the Nebel, though it was divided into several branches, and the ground between them was soft, and, in places, little better than a mere marsh. But the French artillery was not idle. The cannon balls plunged incessantly among the advancing squadrons of the allies, and bodies of French cavalry rode frequently down from the western ridge, to charge them before they had time to form on the firm ground. It was only by supporting his men by fresh troops, and by bringing up infantry, who checked the advance of the enemy's horse by their steady fire, that Marlborough was able to save his army in this quarter from a repulse, which, succeeding the failure of the attack upon Blenheim, would probably have been fatal to the allies. By degrees, his cavalry struggled over the blood-stained streams; the infantry were also now brought across, so as to keep in check the French troops who held Blenheim, and who, when no longer assailed in front, had begun to attack the allies on their left with considerable effect.

*Temporary bridges.*

*French cavalry.*

Marlborough had thus at last succeeded in drawing up

the whole left wing of his army beyond the Nebel, and was about to press forward with it, when he was called away to another part of the field by a disaster that had befallen his centre. The Prince of Holstein Beck had, with eleven Hanoverian battalions, passed the Nebel opposite to Oberglau, when he was charged and utterly routed by the Irish brigade which held that village. The Irish drove the Hanoverians back with heavy slaughter, broke completely through the line of the allies, and nearly achieved a success as brilliant as that which the same brigade afterward gained at Fontenoy. But at Blenheim their ardor in pursuit led them too far. Marlborough came up in person, and dashed in upon the exposed flank of the brigade with some squadrons of British cavalry. The Irish reeled back, and as they strove to regain the height of Oberglau, their column was raked through and through by the fire of three battalions of the allies, which Marlborough had summoned up from the reserve.

*Peril of the allied centre.*

Eugene had hitherto not been equally fortunate. He had made three attacks on the enemy opposed to him, and had been thrice driven back. It was only by his own desperate personal exertions and the remarkable steadiness of the regiments of Prussian infantry which were under him, that he was able to save his wing from being totally defeated.

*Marlborough restores order.*

Like Hannibal, Marlborough relied principally on his cavalry for achieving his decisive successes, and it was

*Blenheim won by cavalry.*

by his cavalry that Blenheim, the greatest of his victories, was won. The battle had lasted till five in the afternoon. Marlborough had now eight thousand horsemen drawn up in two lines, and in the most perfect order for a general attack on the enemy's line along the space between Blenheim and Oberglau. The infantry was drawn up in battalions in their rear, so as to support them if repulsed, and to keep in check the large masses of the French that still occupied the village of Blenheim. Tallard now interlaced his squadrons of cavalry with battalions of infantry; and Marlborough, by a corresponding movement, brought several regiments of infantry, and some pieces of artillery, to his front line at intervals between the bodies of horse. A little after five, Marlborough commenced the decisive movement, and the allied cavalry, strengthened and supported by foot and guns, advanced slowly from the lower ground near the Nebel up the slope to where the French cavalry, ten thousand strong, awaited them. On riding over the summit of the acclivity, the allies were received with so hot a fire from the French artillery and small arms, that at first the cavalry recoiled, but without abandoning the high ground. The guns and the infantry which they had brought with them maintained the contest with spirit and effect. The French fire seemed to slacken. Marlborough instantly ordered a charge along the line. The allied cavalry galloped forward at the enemy's squadrons, and the hearts of the French horsemen failed them. Discharging their

*The decisive charge.*

carbines at an idle distance, they wheeled round and spurred from the field, leaving the nine infantry battalions of their comrades to be ridden down by the torrent of the allied cavalry. The battle was now won. Tallard and Marsin, severed from each other, thought only of retreat. Tallard drew up the squadrons of horse that he had left, in a line extended toward Blenheim, and sent orders to the infantry in that village to leave it and join him without delay. But, long ere his orders could be obeyed, the conquering squadrons of Marlborough had wheeled to the left and thundered down on the feeble array of the French marshal. Part of the force which Tallard had drawn up for this last effort was driven into the Danube; part fled with their general to the village of Sonderheim, where they were soon surrounded by the victorious allies, and compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, Eugene had renewed his attack upon the Gallo-Bavarian left, and Marsin, finding his colleague utterly routed, and his own right flank uncovered, prepared to retreat. He and the elector succeeded in withdrawing a considerable part of their troops in tolerable order to Dillingen; but the large body of French who garrisoned Blenheim were left exposed to certain destruction. Marlborough speedily occupied all the outlets from the village with his victorious troops, and then, collecting his artillery around it, he commenced a cannonade that speedily would have destroyed Blenheim itself and all who were in it. After several gal-

*Flight of the French horse.*

*Marsin's retreat.*

lant but unsuccessful attempts to cut their way through the allies, the French in Blenheim were at length compelled to surrender at discretion; and twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, laid down their arms, and became the captives of Marlborough.

*Surrender of the French in Blenheim.*

"Such," says Voltaire, "was the celebrated battle which the French call the battle of Hochstet, the Germans Plentheim, and the English Blenheim. The conquerors had about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded, the greater part being on the side of Prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely destroyed: of sixty thousand men, so long victorious, there never reassembled more than twenty thousand effective. About twelve thousand killed, fourteen thousand prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of colors and standards, all the tents and equipages, the general of the army, and one thousand two hundred officers of mark in the power of the conqueror, signalized that day!"

*Losses in the battle.*

Ulm, Landau, Treves, and Traerbach surrendered to the allies before the close of the year. Bavaria submitted to the Emperor, and the Hungarians laid down their arms. Germany was completely delivered from France, and the military ascendency of the arms of the allies was completely established. Throughout the rest of the war Louis fought only in defence. Blenheim had dissipated forever his once proud visions of almost universal conquest.

*Results.*

[In 1704, the troubles in Hungary increase; the Czar of Russia takes Dorpat, Norva, and gains all Ingria; Galland translates the *Thousand and One Nights* into French; the first newspaper (the *Boston News Letter*) appears in the United States. In 1705, the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel take a strong armament to Spain. In 1706, Marlborough wins a victory at Ramillies which is followed by the conquest of all the Netherlands; the French lose all their Italian conquests. In 1707, Scotland unites with England, and the first united Parliament of Great Britain meets; the royal veto is exercised for the last time in England; Bohemia obtains a seat in the Diet; the Jesuits are expelled from Holland; and Aurungzebe dies and the Mogul dynasty decays. In 1708, the French are defeated at Oudenarde; Lille is captured and the whole of Flanders submits. The Emperor takes the Duchy of Mantua; Charles XII. invades Russia, and turns aside into the Ukraine on promise of help from Mazeppa; the Whigs expel the Tories from power; and Mrs. Masham displaces the Duchess of Marlborough in Queen Anne's favor. In 1709, Tournay and Malplaquet are taken by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and Mons surrenders. Charles XII. is crushed by the Russians. Russian prisoners are first exiled to Siberia.]

*First newspaper in the United States.*

*The Mogul dynasty decays.*

*Russian prisoners first exiled to Siberia.*

# THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA

## (A.D. 1709)

E. S. CREASY

A CENTURY and a half have hardly elapsed since Russia was first recognized as a member of the drama of modern European history—previous to the battle of Pultowa, Russia played no part. Charles V. and his great rival, our Elizabeth and her adversary Philip of Spain, the Guises, Sully, Richelieu, Cromwell, De Witt, William of Orange, and the other leading spirits of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, thought no more about the Muscovite Czar than we now think about the King of Timbuctoo. Even as late as 1735, Lord Bolingbroke, in his admirable *Letters of History,* speaks of the history of the Muscovites as having no relation to the knowledge which a practical English statesman ought to acquire. It may be doubted whether a cabinet council often takes place now in our Foreign Office without Russia being uppermost in every English statesman's thought.

*Insignificant position of Russia in Europe.*

But, though Russia remained thus long unheeded

among her snows, there was a Northern power, the influence of which was acknowledged in the principal European quarrels, and whose good will was sedulously courted by many of the boldest chiefs and ablest counsellors of the leading states. This was Sweden; Sweden, on whose ruins Russia has arisen, but whose ascendency over her semi-barbarous neighbor was complete, until the fatal battle that now forms our subject.

*Importance of Sweden.*

As early as 1542 France had sought the alliance of Sweden to aid her in her struggle against Charles V. And the name of Gustavus Adolphus is of itself sufficient to remind us that in the great contest for religious liberty, of which Germany was for thirty years the arena, it was Sweden that rescued the falling cause of Protestantism, and it was Sweden that principally dictated the remodelling of the European state-system at the Peace of Westphalia.

From the proud pre-eminence in which the valor of the "Lion of the North," and of Torstenston, Bannier, Wrangel, and the other generals of Gustavus, guided by the wisdom of Oxenstiern, had placed Sweden, the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa hurled her down at once and forever. Her efforts during the wars of the French revolution to assume a leading part in European politics met with instant discomfiture, and almost provoked derision. But the Sweden whose sceptre was bequeathed to Christiana, and whose alliance Cromwell valued so highly, was a different power to the Sweden of the

*Possessions of Sweden.*

present day. Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and other districts east of the Baltic, then were Swedish provinces; and the possession of Pomerania, Rugen, and Bremen, made her an important member of the Germanic empire. These territories are now all reft from her and the most valuable of them form the staple of her victorious rival's strength.

*Significance of Russia's triumph.*

The decisive triumph of Russia over Sweden at Pultowa was therefore all-important to the world, on account of what it overthrew as well as for what it established; and it is the more deeply interesting because it was not merely the crisis of a struggle between two states, but it was a trial of strength between two great races of mankind. In the long and varied conflicts between them, the Germanic race had, before Pultowa, almost always maintained a superiority. With the single but important exception of Poland, no Slavonic state had made any considerable figure in history before the time when Peter the Great won his great victory over the Swedish King.

*Sweden's rise and fall.*

Whatever may have been the amount of national injuries that she sustained from Swede, from Tartar, or from Pole in the ages of her weakness, she has certainly retaliated tenfold during the century and a half of her strength. Her rapid transition at the commencement of that period from being the prey of every conqueror to being the conqueror of all with whom she comes into contact, to being the oppressor instead of the oppressed, is almost without a parallel in the history of nations. It

*Russia the work of a single ruler.*

was the work of a single ruler; who, himself without education, promoted science and literature among barbaric millions; who gave them fleets, commerce, arts, and arms; who, at Pultowa, taught them to face and beat the previously invincible Swedes; and who made stubborn valor and implicit subordination from that time forth the distinguishing characteristics of the Russian soldiery, which had before his time been a mere disorderly and irresolute rabble.

*Peter the Great.*

Peter was brought up among barbarians and barbaric ignorance. He strove to remedy this, when a grown man, by leaving all the temptations to idleness and sensuality which his court offered, and by seeking instruction abroad. He labored with his own hand as a common artisan in Holland and England, that he might return and teach his subjects how ships, commerce, and civilization could be acquired.

In considering the effects of the overthrow of the Swedish arms sustained at Pultowa, and in speculating on the probable consequences that would have followed if the invaders had been successful, we must not only bear in mind the wretched state in which Peter found Russia at his accession, compared with her present grandeur, but we must also keep in view the fact that, at the time when Pultowa was fought, his reforms were yet incomplete, and his new institutions immature. He had broken up the Old Russia; and the New Russia, which he ultimately created, was still in embryo. Had he been

crushed at Pultowa, his immense labors would have been buried with him, and (to use the words of Voltaire) "the most extensive empire in the world would have relapsed into the chaos from which it had been so lately taken." It is this fact that makes the repulse of Charles XII. the critical point in the fortunes of Russia. *A critical moment.*

Peter had wisely abolished the old, regular troops of the Empire, the Strelitzes; but the forces which he had raised in their stead on a new and foreign plan, and principally officered with foreigners, had, before the Swedish invasion, given no proof that they could be relied on. In numerous encounters with the Swedes, Peter's soldiery had run like sheep before inferior numbers. Great discontent, also, had been excited among all classes of the community by the arbitrary changes which their great Emperor introduced, many of which clashed with the most cherished national prejudices of his subjects. A career of victory and prosperity had not yet raised Peter above the reach of that disaffection, nor had superstitious obedience to the Czar yet become the characteristic of the Muscovite mind. The victorious occupation of Moscow by Charles XII. would have quelled the Russian nation as effectually as had been the case when Batou Kahn, and other ancient invaders, captured the capital of primitive Muscovy. How little such a triumph could effect toward subduing modern Russia, the fate of Napoleon demonstrated at once and forever. *Peter's soldiery.*

The character of Charles XII. has been a favorite

*Charles XII.*

theme with historians, moralists, philosophers, and poets. But it is his military conduct during the campaign in Russia that alone requires comment here. After making all allowances, we must admit the force of Napoleon's strictures on Charles's tactics, and own that his judgment, though severe, is correct, when he pronounces that the Swedish King, unlike his great predecessor, Gustavus, knew nothing of the art of war and was nothing more than a brave and intrepid soldier. Such, however, was not the light in which Charles was regarded by his contemporaries at the commencement of his Russian expedition. His numerous victories, his daring and resolute spirit, combined with the ancient renown of the Swedish arms, then filled all Europe with admiration and anxiety.

*Desire for his alliance.*

As Johnson expresses it, his name was then one at which the world grew pale. Even Louis le Grand earnestly solicited his assistance; and our own Marlborough, then in the full career of his victories, was specially sent by the English court to the camp of Charles, to propitiate the hero of the North in favor of the cause of the allies, and to prevent the Swedish sword from being flung into the scales in the French King's favor. But Charles at that time was solely bent on dethroning the sovereign of Russia, as he had already dethroned the sovereign of Poland, and all Europe fully believed that he would entirely crush the Czar, and dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin. Charles himself looked on success as a matter of certainty, and the romantic extravagance of his views

*Charles's ambitions.*

was continually increasing. "One year, he thought, would suffice for the conquest of Russia. The court of Rome was next to feel his vengeance, as the Pope had dared to oppose the concession of religious liberty to the Silesian Protestants. No enterprise at that time appeared impossible to him. He had even despatched several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength and resources of those countries." [1]

Napoleon thus epitomizes the earlier operations of Charles's invasion of Russia:

*Napoleon on Charles's invasion of Russia.*

"That Prince set out from his camp at Aldstadt, near Leipsic, in September, 1707, at the head of 45,000 men, and traversed Poland; 20,000 men, under Count Lewenhaupt, disembarked at Riga; and 15,000 were in Finland. He was, therefore, in a condition to have brought together 80,000 of the best troops in the world. He left 10,000 men at Warsaw to guard King Stanislaus, and, in January, 1708, arrived at Grodno, where he wintered. In June, he crossed the forest of Minsk, and presented himself before Borisov; forced the Russian army, which occupied the left bank of the Beresina; defeated 20,000 Russians who were strongly intrenched behind marshes; passed the Borysthenes at Mohilov, and vanquished a corps of 16,000 Muscovites near Smolensko on the 22d of September. He was now advanced to the confines of Lithuania, and was about to enter Russia proper: the

[1] Crichton's *Scandinavia.*

*His advantages and error.*

Czar, alarmed at his approach, made him proposals of peace. Up to this time all his movements were conformable to rule, and his communications were well secured. He was master of Poland and Riga, and only ten days' march distant from Moscow; and it is probable that he would have reached that capital, had he not quitted the high road thither and directed his steps toward the Ukraine, in order to form a junction with Mazeppa, who brought him only 6,000 men. By this movement, his line of operations, beginning at Sweden, exposed his flank to Russia for a distance of four hundred leagues, and he was unable to protect it, or to receive either reinforcements or assistance."

*The Czar's army.*

The Czar had collected an army of about 100,000 effective men; and though the Swedes, in the beginning of the invasion, were successful in every encounter, the Russian troops were gradually acquiring discipline; and Peter and his officers were learning generalship from their victors. When Lewenhaupt, in the October of 1708, was striving to join Charles in the Ukraine, the Czar suddenly attacked him near the Borysthenes with an overwhelming force of 50,000 Russians. Lewenhaupt fought bravely for three days, and succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy with about 4,000 of his men to where Charles awaited him near the river Desna; but upward of 8,000 Swedes fell in these battles; Lewenhaupt's cannon and ammunition were abandoned; and the whole of his important convoy of provisions, on

which Charles and his half-starved troops were relying, fell into the enemy's hands. Charles was compelled to remain in the Ukraine during the winter; but in the spring of 1709 he moved forward toward Moscow, and invested the fortified town of Pultowa, on the river Vorksla: a place where the Czar had stored up large supplies of provisions and military stores, and which commanded the passes leading toward Moscow. The possession of this place would have given Charles the means of supplying all the wants of his suffering army, and would also have furnished him with a secure base of operations for his advance against the Muscovite capital. The siege was therefore hotly pressed by the Swedes; the garrison resisted obstinately; and the Czar, feeling the importance of saving the town, advanced, in June, to its relief, at the head of an army from fifty to sixty thousand strong.

*Charles besieges Pultowa.*

Both sovereigns now prepared for the general action, which each saw to be inevitable, and which each felt would be decisive of his own and of his country's destiny. The Czar, by some masterly manœuvres, crossed the Vorksla, and posted his army on the same side of the river with the besiegers, but a little higher up. The Vorksla falls into the Borysthenes about fifteen leagues below Pultowa, and the Czar arranged his forces in two lines, stretching from one river toward the other, so that if the Swedes attacked him and were repulsed, they would be driven backward into the acute angle formed

*Peter's generalship.*

by the two streams at their junction. He fortified these lines with several redoubts lined with heavy artillery; and his troops, both horse and foot, were in the best possible condition, and amply provided with stores and ammunition. Charles's forces were about 24,000 strong. But not more than half of these were Swedes: so much had battle, famine, fatigue, and the deadly frosts of Russia thinned the gallant bands which the Swedish King and Lewenhaupt had led to the Ukraine. The other 12,000 men, under Charles, were Cossacks and Wallachians, who had joined him in the country. On hearing that the Czar was about to attack him, he deemed that his dignity required that he himself should be the assailant; and, leading his army out of their intrenched lines before the town, he advanced with them against the Russian redoubts.

*Preparations for action.*

He had been severely wounded in the foot in a skirmish a few days before, and was borne in a litter along the ranks into the thick of the fight. Notwithstanding the fearful disparity of numbers and disadvantage of position, the Swedes never showed their ancient valor more nobly than on that dreadful day. Nor do their Cossack and Wallachian allies seem to have been unworthy of fighting side by side with Charles's veterans. Two of the Russian redoubts were actually entered, and the Swedish infantry began to raise the cry of victory. But, on the other side, neither general nor soldiers flinched in their duty. The Russian cannonade and

*Valor of the Swedes.*

*Their repulse.*

musketry were kept up; fresh masses of defenders were poured into the fortifications, and at length the exhausted remnants of the Swedish columns recoiled from the blood-stained redoubts. Then the Czar led the infantry and cavalry of his first line outside the works, drew them up steadily and skilfully, and the action was renewed along the whole fronts of the two armies on the open ground. Each sovereign exposed his life freely in the world-winning battle, and on each side the troops fought obstinately and eagerly under their ruler's eye. It was not till two hours from the commencement of the action that, overpowered by numbers, the hitherto invincible Swedes gave way. All was then hopeless disorder and irreparable rout. Driven downward to where the rivers join, the fugitive Swedes surrendered to their victorious pursuers, or perished in the waters of the Borysthenes. Only a few hundred swam that river with their King and the Cossack Mazeppa, and escaped into the Turkish territory. Nearly 10,000 lay killed and wounded in the redoubts and on the field of battle.

*Their irreparable rout.*

In the joy of his heart the Czar exclaimed, when the strife was over, "That the son of the morning had fallen from heaven, and that the foundation of St. Petersburg at length stood firm." Even on that battlefield, near the Ukraine, the Russian Emperor's first thoughts were of conquests and aggrandizement on the Baltic. The peace of Nystadt, which transferred the fairest provinces of Sweden to Russia, ratified the judgment of battle which

*The Peace of Nystadt.*

was pronounced at Pultowa. Attacks on Turkey and Persia by Russia commenced almost directly after that victory. And though the Czar failed in his first attempts against the Sultan, the successors of Peter have, one and all, carried on a uniformly aggressive and successive system of policy against Turkey, and against other States, Asiatic as well as European, which have had the misfortune of having Russia for a neighbor.

[Peter reconquers Poland in 1709, and all the Swedish possessions in Germany are threatened by Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony. In 1710, Peter conquers Riga, Livonia, Esthonia, etc.; Charles XII. induces the Sultan to declare war against Russia; Rakoksy, finally defeated at Romhany, withdraws from Hungary; Colonel Nicholson takes the French settlement of Port Royal (in Acadia) and calls it Annapolis. The South Sea Company is organized. In 1711, the Emperor dies, and is succeeded by the Archduke Charles; Marlborough is recalled; the Rakoksy revolt is ended by the Treaty of Szathmar. In 1712, diplomats meet at Utrecht. The Duke of Burgundy, his wife and son die, and the Danes conquer the Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden. In 1713, the Russians defeat the Swedes, who, in turn, defeat the Danes; Pomerania is invaded by Denmark and Poland, and Stettin occupied by Poland.]

*The South Sea Company organized.*

# THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

## (A.D. 1713)

FRANÇOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME GUIZOT

QUEEN ANNE, wearied with the cupidity and haughtiness of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, had given them notice to quit; the friends of the Duke had shared his fall, and the Tories succeeded the Whigs in power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Harley, soon afterward Earl of Oxford, and the Secretary of State, St. John, who became Lord Bolingbroke, were inclined to peace. Advances were made in France. A French priest, Abbé Gautier, living in obscurity in England, arrived in Paris during January, 1711; he went to see M. de Torcy at Versailles. "Do you want peace?" said he. "I have come to bring you the means for treating for it, and concluding independently of the Hollanders, unworthy of the King's kindnesses and of the honor he has so often done them of applying to them to pacificate Europe." "To ask just then one of his Majesty's ministers if he desired peace," says Torcy, "was to ask a sick man suffering

*Fall of the Whigs.*

*Peace overtures.*

from a long and dangerous disease if he wants to be cured." Negotiations were secretly opened with the English cabinet. The Emperor Joseph had just died (April 17, 1711). He left none but daughters. From that moment Archduke Charles inherited the domains of the house of Austria, and aspired to the imperial crown; by giving him Spain, Europe re-established the monarchy of Charles V.; she saw the dangers into which she was being drawn by the resentments or short-sighted ambition of the triumvirate; she fell back upon the wise projects of William III. Holland had abandoned them; to England fell the honor of making them triumphant. She has often made war upon the Continent with indomitable obstinacy and perseverance; but at bottom and by the very force of circumstances England remains, as regards the affairs of Europe, an essentially pacific power. War brings her no advantage; she can not pretend to any territorial aggrandizement in Europe; it is the equilibrium between the continental powers that makes her strength, and her first interest was always to maintain it.

*England the peace-maker of Europe.*

The campaign of 1711 was everywhere insignificant. Negotiations were still going on with England, secretly and through subordinate agents: Ménager, member of the Board of Trade, for France; and for England, the poet, Prior, strongly attached to Harley. On the 29th of January, 1712, the general conferences were opened at Utrecht. The French had been anxious to avoid The

*Conferences are opened at Utrecht.*

Hague, dreading the obstinacy of Heinsius in favor of his former proposals. Preliminary points were already settled with England; enormous advantages were secured in America to English commerce, to which was ceded Newfoundland and all that France still possessed in Acadia; the general proposals had been accepted by Queen Anne and her ministers. In vain had the Hollanders and Prince Eugene made great efforts to modify them; St. John had dryly remarked that England had borne the greatest part in the burden of the war, and it was but just that she should direct the negotiations for peace. For five years past the United Provinces, exhausted by the length of hostilities, had constantly been defaulters in their engagements; it was proved to Prince Eugene that the imperial army had not been increased by two regiments in consequence of the war; the Emperor's ambassador, M. de Galas, displayed impertinence: he was forbidden to come to the court; in spite of the reserve imposed upon the English ministers by the strife of parties in a free country, their desire for peace was evident. The Queen had just ordered the creation of new peers in order to secure a majority of the Upper House in favor of a pacific policy.

*England tired of war.*

The bolts of Heaven were falling one after another upon the royal family of France. On the 14th of April, 1711, Louis XIV. had lost by smallpox his son, the grand dauphin, a mediocre and submissive creature, ever the most humble subject of the King, at just fifty years

*Afflictions of Louis XIV.*

of age. His eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, devout, austere, and capable, the hope of good men and the terror of intriguers, had taken the rank of dauphin, and was seriously commencing his apprenticeship in government, when he was carried off on the 18th of February, 1712, by spotted fever (*rougeole pourprée*), six days after his wife, the charming Mary Adelaide of Savoy, the idol of the whole court, supremely beloved by the King, and by Mme. de Maintenon, who had brought her up; their son, the Duke of Brittany, four years old, died on the 8th of March; a child in the cradle, weakly and ill, the little Duke of Anjou, remained the only shoot of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Dismay seized upon all France; poison was spoken of; the Duke of Orleans was accused; it was necessary to have a post mortem examination; only the hand of God had left its traces. Europe in its turn was excited. If the little Duke of Anjou were to die, the crown of France reverted to Philip V. The Hollanders and the ambassadors of the Emperor Charles VI., recently crowned at Frankfort, insisted on the necessity of a formal renunciation. In accordance with the English ministers, Louis XIV. wrote to his grandson: "If gratitude and affection toward your subjects are to you pressing reasons for remaining with them, I may say that you owe me the same sentiments; you owe them to your own house, to your country, before Spain. All that I can do for you is to leave you once more

*Successive deaths of heirs.*

*Louis XIV.'s letter to Philip V.*

the choice, the necessity for concluding peace becoming every day more urgent."

The choice of Philip V. was made; he had already written to his grandfather to say that he would renounce all his rights of succession to the throne of France rather than give up the crown of Spain. This decision was solemnly enregistered by the Cortes. The English required that the Dukes of Berry and Orleans should likewise make renunciation of their rights to the crown of Spain. Negotiations were reopened, but war began again at the same time as the negotiations.

*Negotiations again opened.*

The King had given Villars the command of the army of Flanders. The Marshal went to Marly to receive his last orders. "You see my plight, Marshal," said Louis XIV. "There are few examples of what is my fate—to lose in the same week a grandson, a grandson's wife and their son, all of very great promise and very tenderly beloved. God is punishing me; I have well deserved it. But suspend we my griefs at my own domestic woes, and look we to what may be done to prevent those of the kingdom. If anything were to happen to the army you command, what would be your idea of the course I should adopt as regards my person?" The Marshal hesitated. The King resumed: "This is what I think; you shall tell me your opinion afterward. I know the courtiers' line of argument; they nearly all wish me to retire to Blois, and not wait for the enemy's army to approach Paris, as it might do if mine were beaten. For

*The King's commands to Villars.*

my part I am aware that armies so considerable are never defeated to such an extent as to prevent the greater part of mine from retiring upon the Somme. I know that river; it is very difficult to cross; there are forts, too, which could be made strong. I should count upon getting to Péronne or St. Quentin, and there massing all the troops I had, making a last effort with you, and falling together, or saving the kingdom; I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital."

God was to spare Louis XIV. that crowning disaster reserved for other times; in spite of all his defaults and the culpable errors of his life and reign, Providence had given this old man, overwhelmed by so many reverses and sorrows, a truly royal soul, and that regard for his own greatness which set him higher as a king than he would have been as a man. "He had too proud a soul to descend lower than his misfortunes had brought him," says Montesquieu, "and he well knew that courage may right a crown and that infamy never does." On the 25th of May, the King secretly informed his plenipotentiaries as well as his generals that the English were proposing to him a suspension of hostilities; and he added: "It is no longer a time for flattering the pride of the Hollanders, but, while we treat them in good faith, it must be with the dignity that becomes me." "A style differing from that of the conferences at The Hague and Gertruydenberg," is the remark made by M. de Torcy. That which the King's pride refused to the ill will of

*The King maintains his dignity.*

the Hollanders he granted to the good will of England. The day of the commencement of the armistice Dunkerque was put as guarantee into the hands of the English, who recalled their native regiments from the army of Prince Eugene; the King complained that they left him the auxiliary troops; the English ministers proposed to prolong the truce, promising to treat separately with France if the allies refused assent to the peace. The news received by Louis XIV. gave him assurance of better conditions than any one had dared to hope for.

*The armistice.*

Villars had not been able to prevent Prince Eugene from becoming master of Quesnoy on the 3d of July; the imperialists were already making preparations to invade France; in their army the causeway which connected Marchiennes with Landrecies was called the *Paris road*. The Marshal resolved to relieve Landrecies, and, having had bridges thrown over the Scheldt, he, on the 23d of July, 1712, crossed the river between Bouchain and Denain; the latter little place was defended by the Duke of Albemarle, son of General Monk, with seventeen battalions of auxiliary troops in the pay of the allies; Lieutenant-General Albergotti, an experienced soldier, considered the undertaking perilous. "Go and lie down for an hour or two, M. d'Albergotti," said Villars; "tomorrow by three in the morning you shall know whether the enemy's intrenchments are as strong as you suppose." Prince Eugene was coming up by forced marches to relieve Denain, by falling on the rearguard of the French

*Advance of Prince Eugene.*

army. It was proposed to Villars to make fascines to fill up the fosses of Denain. "Do you suppose," said he, pointing to the enemy's army in the distance, "that those gentry will give us the time? Our fascines shall be the bodies of the first of our men who fall in the fosse."

*Battle of Denain.*

"There was not an instant, not a minute to lose," says the Marshal in his *Mémoires*. "I made my infantry march on four lines in the most beautiful order; as I entered the intrenchment at the head of the troops, I had not gone twenty paces when the Duke of Albemarle and six or seven of the Emperor's lieutenant-generals were at my horse's feet. I begged them to excuse me if present matters did not permit me to show them all the politeness I ought, but that the first of all was to provide for the safety of their persons." The enemy thought of nothing but flight; the bridges over the Scheldt broke down under the multitude of vehicles and horses; nearly all the defenders of Denain were taken or killed. Prince Eugene could not cross the river, watched as it was by French troops; he did not succeed in saving Marchiennes, which the Count of Broglie had been ordered to invest in the very middle of the action in front of Denain; the imperialists raised the siege of Landrecies, but without daring to attack Villars, reinforced by a few garrisons; the Marshal immediately invested Douai; on the 27th of August, the Emperor's troops who were defending one of the forts demanded a capitulation; the officers who went out asked for a delay of four days, so

*Prince Eugene baffled.*

as to receive orders from Prince Eugene; the Marshal, who was in the trenches, called his grenadiers. "This is my council on such occasions," said he to the astonished imperialists. "My friends, these captains demand four days' time to receive orders from their general; what do you think?" "Leave it to us, Marshal," replied the grenadiers; "in a quarter of an hour we will slit their windpipes." "Gentlemen," said I to the officers, "they will do as they have said; so take your own course."

*Surrender of Douai.*

The garrison surrendered at discretion. Douai capitulated on the 8th of September; Le Quesnoy was taken on the 4th of October, and Bouchain on the 18th; Prince Eugene had not been able to attempt anything; he fell back under the walls of Brussels. On the Rhine, on the Alps, in Spain, the French and Spanish armies had held the enemy in check. The French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had recovered their courage. "We put on the face the Hollanders had at Gertruydenberg, and they put on ours," wrote the Cardinal de Polignac from Utrecht: "it is a complete turning of the tables." "Gentlemen, peace will be treated for among you, for you and without you," was the remark made to the Hollanders. Hereditary adversary of the Van Witts and their party, Heinsius had pursued the policy of William III. without the foresight and lofty views of William III.; he had not seen his way in 1709 to shaking off the yoke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene in order to take the initiative in a peace necessary for Europe; in 1712, he submitted

*Holland snubbed.*

to the will of Harley and St. John, thus losing the advantages of the powerful mediatorial position which the United Provinces had owed to the eminent men successively intrusted with their government. Henceforth Holland remained a free and prosperous country, respected and worthy of her independence, but her political influence and importance in Europe were at an end.

The battle of Denain and its happy consequences hastened the conclusion of the negotiations; the German princes began to split up; the King of Prussia, Frederick William I., who had recently succeeded his father, was the first to escape from the Emperor's yoke. Lord Bolingbroke put the finishing stroke, at Versailles, to the conditions of a general peace; the month of April was the extreme limit fixed by England for her allies; on the 11th, peace was signed between France, England, the United Provinces, Portugal, the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy. Louis XIV. recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune, and St. Venant; he strengthened with a few places the barrier of the Hollanders; he likewise granted to the Duke of Savoy a barrier on the Italian slope of the Alps; he recognized Queen Anne, at the same time exiling from France the Pretender, James III., whom he had but lately proclaimed with so much flourish of trumpets; and he razed the fortifications of Dunkerque. England kept Gibraltar and Minorca; Sicily was assigned to the Duke of Savoy. France recognized the King of Prussia. The peace was an honorable and an

*Peace is signed.*

*Terms of the Treaty.*

unexpected one, after so many disasters; the King of Spain held out for some time; he wanted to set up an independent principality for the Princess des Ursins, *camerera mayor* to the Queen, his wife, an able, courageous, and clever intriguer, all-powerful at court, who had done good service to the interests of France; he could not obtain any dismemberment of the United Provinces; and at last Philip V., in his turn, signed. The Emperor and the Empire alone remained aloof from the general peace. War recommenced in Germany and on the Rhine. Villars carried Spires and Kaiserlautern. He laid siege to Landau. His lieutenants were uneasy. "Gentlemen," said Villars, "I have heard the Prince of Condé say that the enemy should be feared at a distance, and despised at close quarters." Landau capitulated on the 20th of August; on the 30th of September Villars entered Friburg; the citadel surrendered on the 13th of November; the imperialists began to make pacific overtures; the two generals, Villars and Prince Eugene, were charged with the negotiations.

*War begins again.*

"I arrived at Rastadt on the 26th of November in the afternoon," writes Villars in his *Mémoires,* "and the Prince of Savoy half an hour after me. The moment I knew he was in the courtyard, I went to the top of the steps to meet him, apologizing to him on the ground that a lame man could not go down; we embraced with the feelings of an old and true friendship which long wars and various engagements had not altered." The

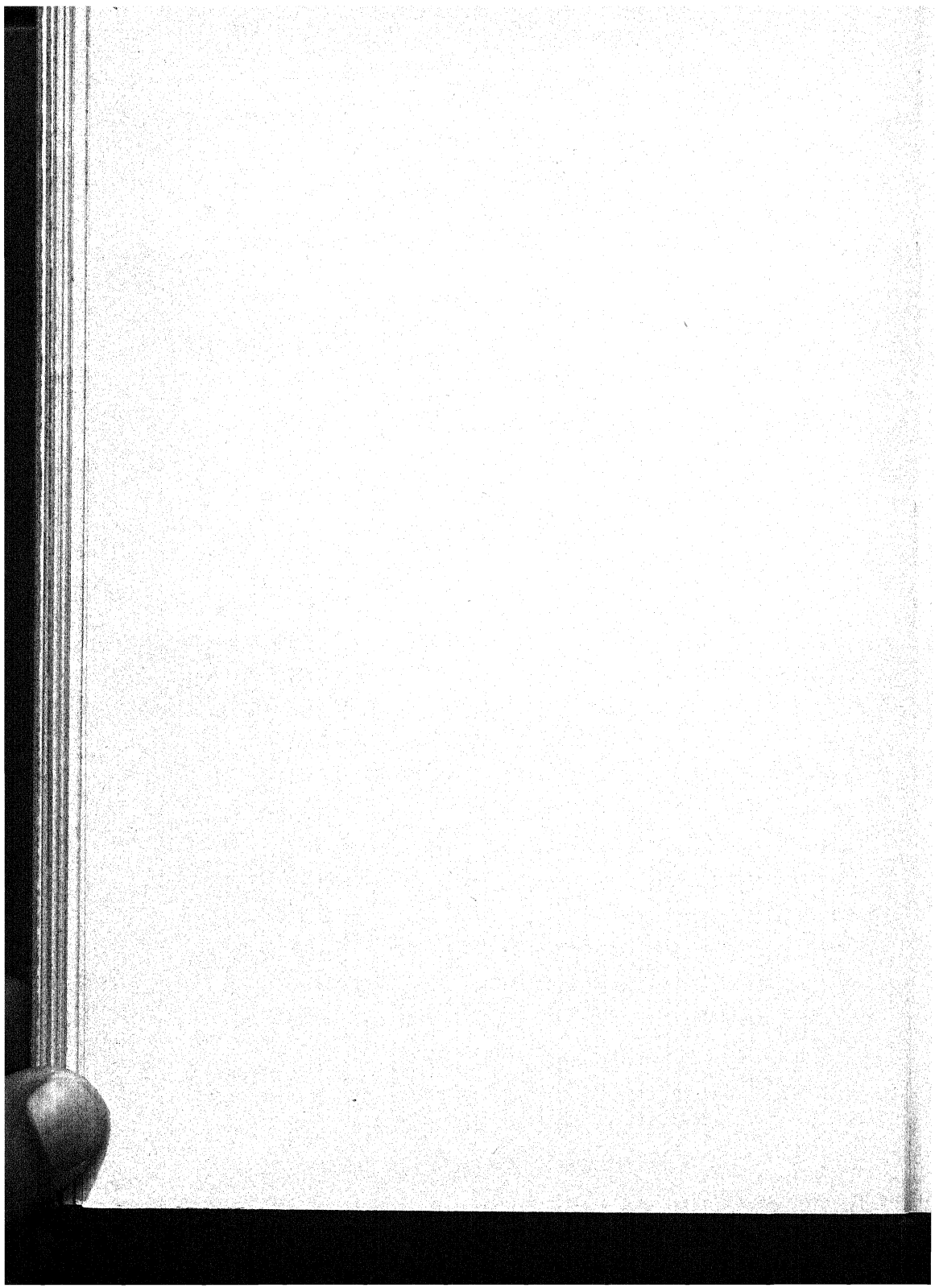
*Meeting of Villars and Eugene.*

two plenipotentiaries were headstrong in their discussions. "If we begin war again," said Villars, "where will you find money?" "It is true that we haven't any," rejoined the Prince; "but there is still some in the Empire." "Poor States of the Empire!" I exclaimed; "your advice is not asked about beginning the dance; yet you must, of course, follow the leaders." Peace was at last signed, on the 6th of March, 1714: France kept Landau and Fort Louis; she restored Spires, Breisach, and Friburg. The Emperor refused to recognize Philip V., but he accepted the *status quo;* the crown of Spain remained definitively with the house of Bourbon; it had cost men and millions enough; for an instant the very foundations of order in Europe had seemed to be upset; the old French monarchy had been threatened; it had recovered of itself and by its own resources, sustaining single-handed the struggle which was pulling down all Europe in coalition against it; it had obtained conditions which restored its frontiers to the limits of the peace of Ryswick; but it was exhausted, gasping at its wits' end for men and money; absolute power had obtained from national pride the last possible efforts, but it had played itself out in the struggle; the confidence of the country was shaken; it had been seen what dangers the will of a single man had made the nation incur; the tempest was already gathering within men's souls. The habit of respect, the memory of past glories, the personal majesty of Louis XIV. still kept up about the aged King the

*Spain remains with the Bourbons.*

deceitful appearances of uncontested power and sovereign authority; the long decadence of his great-grandson's reign was destined to complete its ruin. *Deceitful appearances.*

[In 1714, France and the Emperor make peace at Rastadt, by which the Emperor receives the Spanish dominions of Naples, the Milanese Sardinia, Mantua and Breisach. France gives up all territory east of the Rhine; but the Emperor does not recognize Philip V. as King of Spain. By another treaty with Bavaria, France promises to support the Elector should he become a candidate for the Empire. The Duke of Berwick storms Barcelona. Alberoni becomes the chief minister of Spain. Charles XII. returns home from Turkey and an alliance is formed against him by Prussia, Saxony, Denmark and Russia. In 1715, Louis XIV. dies. His will is set aside and the Duke of Orleans becomes Regent. The Danes, by selling the Duchies of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, gain it as an ally against Sweden. The Venetians are driven out of the Morea by the Turks. By the Barrier Treaty the Emperor receives the Spanish Netherlands. The Old Pretender orders the Earl of Mar to start a rebellion in his interests in Scotland.] *Death of Louis XIV.*



# THE FIRST JACOBITE REBELLION

## (A.D. 1715)

### TOBIAS SMOLLETT

BY this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though the hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favor of the Pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature and exposed to the inso-

*Unpopularity of the Union.*

*Intrigues of the Jacobites.*

lence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamors, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms, without further delay, in his favor; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favorable disposition. He had recourse to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favored him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned un-

*Louis helps the Pretender.*

heard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the Regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succor. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

*Lord Stair's vigilance.*

*Death of Louis XIV.*

The partisans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Mari-

schal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaiming the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar on the 6th day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the meantime, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, and published a declaration exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress.

*Mar sets up the Pretender's standard.*

*Arrival of French aid.*

*Mar's manifesto.*

The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain.

*Arrests in England.*

In England, the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the gate-house for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdowne and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The King desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favoring the invasion.

*Loyalty of the Commons.*

The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterward surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected

as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of Master of the Horse.

*Jacobites in the West.*

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the Government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The University of Oxford felt the rod of power on that occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at daybreak, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterward quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. The first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march

*Dragoons at Oxford.*

from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

*Progress in the North.*

By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the seacoast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the Frith to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats, that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. The Earl of Mar, in the meantime, marched from Perth to Dumblane, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but

*Mar's position.*

*Invasion of Lothian.*

his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Frith, from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the 22d day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

*The Council of War.*

The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; means, however, were found to prevail upon one-half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, with Lord Lons-

dale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were overruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. The Scottish noblemen persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were

*Forster reaches Preston.*

*The Highlanders capitulate.*

secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial, as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate.

*Battle of Dumblane.*

The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblane, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans commanded by the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west under General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together in England. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons, from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblane, and his right toward Sheriffmoor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till daybreak in order of battle; his army con-

*Argyle passes the Forth.*

sisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the northeast of Dumblane; but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the meantime, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him, with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some inclosures and mud walls, in

*Charge of the clans.*

*Both armies retire.*

expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off toward Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke, marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the army, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the Pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country: and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

*Argyle retreats to Stirling.*

*Dispersal of the clans.*

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom

of England rise up as one man in his behalf, and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the 22d day of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen, incognito, to Feterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts of that neighborhood; and he received addresses from the Episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the 5th day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all

*The Pretender arrives in Scotland.*

*His proclamation.*

the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprise, as the King's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-Island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

*Destitution of his forces.*

Notwithstanding the great severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the 29th of January, began his march to Dumblane, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired toward Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline. General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander-in-chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded

*The Pretender returns to France.*

with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the Continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt.

*Dismissal of the army.*

[In 1716, by the treaty of Hanover, England promises to support the claims of the Regent if the infant Louis XV. dies; the Regent also promises to support the Protestant succession. The Turks lose their last foothold in Hungary. In 1717, John Law forms the Mississippi Company and is appointed Minister of Finance. Prince Eugene destroys a Turkish army and captures Belgrade. In 1718, Charles XII. is killed at Friedrichshall, just as he has entered into an alliance with Russia for the recovery of her German possessions and the expulsion of George I. from the British throne. New Orleans is founded by the French, and Pensacola by the Spaniards.

*Belgrade captured.*

*New Orleans founded.*

Austria is left in possession of Hungary by the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Turks also give up Belgrade and parts of Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia. The Sultan consents to desert Rakoksy. In 1719, Philip V. of Spain is forced by the allies to dismiss his great minister. In 1720, Law's great financial schemes fail and he is exiled. The Emperor being without male heirs, publishes the Pragmatic Sanction, which the Empire accepts and proclaims law in 1724. Prussia reaches the Baltic by the acquisition of Stettin and neighboring territory. The mania for speculation spreads to England.]

*The Pragmatic Sanction.*

# THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

## (A.D. 1720)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE great event of the sixth year of the reign of George I. was the exciting affair of the South Sea scheme—an event upon which, after the lapse of a hundred and forty years, we may still look with greater interest than upon the treaties and the wars of which it is said, with some truth, that they are to us as the "mere bubblings up of the general putrid fermentation of the then political world." *The South Sea Scheme.*

In the infant days of the National Debt the great terror of statesmen was its increase and duration. At the accession of Queen Anne, the debt amounted to sixteen millions; at her death it had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711, there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a company incorporated for the purpose of carrying on a *The National Debt.*

monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. When the Peace of Utrecht was complete, Spain refused to permit any approach to the free trade which would have made such a commercial company of value. One ship only was allowed to be sent annually. A few factories were established, and the one ship sailed in 1717. Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the British goods. But the Company had other means for the employment of capital; and many opulent persons were among its shareholders and directors.

*The South Sea Company.*

At the opening of the Parliament in November, 1719, the King said to the Commons: "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the House of Commons from the South Sea Company, in which it was set forth that if certain public debts and annuities were made part of the capital stock of the Company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end adverted to in his Majesty's speech. Before that speech was delivered, Sir John Blunt, a South Sea director, had been in communication with the ministers, who gave a favorable ear to his projects. There was an annual charge upon the revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, for irredeemable annuities granted in the reigns of William and Anne. To buy up these annuities was the advantageous point in the proposal of the Company.

*Sir John Blunt's project.*

The House of Commons agreed in the necessity of reducing the public debts. "Till this was done," said Mr. Brodrick, who moved that other Companies should be allowed to compete, "we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation." The Bank of England accordingly sent in a rival proposal; and the two Companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a half to buy up the annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the Company's stock; and the chief doubt seemed to be whether the greater number would consent to this transfer. Although the terms offered by the Company to the annuitants were not encouraging, there was a rush to accept them. To hold stock in a Company whose exclusive trading privileges might realize that "potentiality of wealth" which is never "beyond the dreams of avarice," was a far grander thing than to receive seven, eight, or even nine per cent, upon annuities. Within six days of the announcement of the Company's terms, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America.

*The Bank of England's rival proposals.*

Upon this foundation was built the most enormous fabric of national delusion that was ever raised among an industrious, thrifty, and prudent people. It had been long manifest that there was a great amount of superfluous capital, especially of the hoardings of the middle

*Public infatuation.*

classes, which wanted opportunities for employment. To obtain interest for small sums was scarcely practicable for the mass of those who were enabled to keep their expenditure below their incomes. Before the beginning of the century, companies, more or less safe, had been formed to meet this desire for investments. In spite of the long wars of the reigns of William and Anne, and the Jacobite plots and rebellions which threatened the Protestant succession, the country was going steadily forward in a course of prosperity. Wherever there is superfluous wealth, beyond the ordinary demands of industry for capital, there will be always projectors ready to suggest modes for its co-operative uses. There was then to be seen the magnificent list of noble names, such as continue to attract the unwary to have confidence in some board where very few know the secret transactions. Even the Prince of Wales was then the Governor of a Welsh Copper Company. But it seems to us that the belief of all the schemes of that scheming time being fraudulent and delusive is a mistake. Many of these schemes might be premature; and having chiefly in view the profit to be made by the rise of shares, might be called "Bubbles." But it is scarcely reasonable to class the following projects among the ridiculous schemes of that gambling time: For improving alum works; for paving the streets of London; for supplying various towns with water; for improving the art of making soap; for improving the paper manufacture; for making iron with pit coal;

*National prosperity.*

*"Bubbles" of the day.*



SPECULATIVE FEVER AT THE TIME OF THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE (*Pages* 133-145)

FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING

for extracting silver from lead. It had been justly said by a writer who decried, in 1695, "many pernicious projects now on foot," that "some were very useful and successful while they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing: others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world." Such, no doubt, was the general character of the manifold projects of 1720. In the summer of that year, the South Sea year, "the dog-star raged" over Exchange Alley with a fury that had never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to projects recommended by "one or more persons of known credit," were only required to advance ten shillings per cent. A shilling, and even sixpence per cent, was enough to secure the receipt for a share in the more doubtful undertakings. Shares of every sort were at a premium, unless in cases where the office that was opened at noon on one day was found closed on the next, and the shillings and sixpences had vanished with the subscription books. But the great impulse to the frantic stock-jobbing of that summer was the sudden and enormous rise in the value of South Sea stock. In July, Secretary Craggs wrote to Earl Stanhope, who was abroad with the King, "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeem-

*The road to riches.*

*Mad rush for shares.*

able annuities is so great that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." The hundred pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character—water-companies, fishery-companies, companies for various manufactures, companies for settlements and foreign trade—infinite varieties, down to companies for fatting hogs and importing jackasses from Spain—rushed into the market amid the universal cry for shares and more shares. The directors of the South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription. They boldly proclaimed that after Christmas their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent upon their £100 shares. The rivalry of the legion of projects of that season was odious to these great lords of the money-market. The government itself began to think that some fearful end would come to the popular delusion; and a Royal Proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the companies, with corporate authority or no authority, amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple

*The Royal Proclamation.*

of all the land of the kingdom. The attempt of the South Sea Company to lessen the number of their competitors was the prelude to their own fall. At their instance, writs of *scire facias* were issued, on the 18th of August, against four companies; and the subscribers to these, and to all other projects not legalized, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the Crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the stocks of all the Companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of stock. Before August, knowing and cautious holders of South Sea stock began to sell out. Walpole, who had originally opposed the scheme, did not carry his opposition to the extreme of neglecting his opportunity of largely adding to his fortune, by investing at the proper time, and selling out at the proper time. The Earl of Pembroke applied to Walpole for his advice as to the great question of selling when the shares were at their culminating point. The adroit financier coolly answered: "I will only tell you what I have done myself. I have just sold out at 1,000 per cent, and I am fully satisfied." By the middle of September, holders of South Sea stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. The stock was at 850 on the 18th of August; in a month it had fallen to 410. Mr. Brodrick, on the 13th of September, writes, that the most considerable men of the Company, "with their fast friends, the Tories, Jacobites, and Papists," had drawn out; "securing themselves by

*The panic.*

*Walpole's shrewdness*

the losses of the deluded thoughtless numbers, whose understandings were overruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole-hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggary. . . . The consternation is inexpressible; the rage beyond expression; and the case is so desperate that I do not see any plan or scheme for averting the blow." On the 29th of September, South Sea stock had fallen to 175. This greatest of bubbles had burst. Many persons of rank and station were not so prudent as Walpole and the Earl of Pembroke had been. The Duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin were provided with colonial governments to enable them to live;—a species of consideration for ruined nobility which is rather in bad odor in our days. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians, passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty; some "died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned." It has been observed that "the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate, than permanent or general. There was little, if any, absolute destruction of capital. The whole mischief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another." But the derangement of the ordinary course of industry was to be added to this shifting of property. Serious as was this temporary evil; furious as it made the sufferers in their reproaches against every one but themselves; eager as it rendered the legislature for confis-

*The bubble bursts.*

*Terrible results.*

cation of the property of the South Sea Directors, the national credit was not permanently impaired by the infatuation which produced so much private misery. In this respect, the issue of the South Sea scheme was essentially different from the Mississippi scheme of John Law in France, which also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. When the South Sea crash came, there was alarm for its public consequences. But Walpole, who had again joined the government, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the State; and instead of joining the first cry for vengeance upon the South Sea Directors, he calmly said in Parliament, that if London were on fire, wise men would endeavor to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. When the King opened the session on the 8th of December, the royal speech recommended measures "to restore the national credit." Walpole was regarded by all parties as the man to effect this.

*Misery private, not national.*

The Commons, through the entire session, were occupied with investigations and discussions connected with the financial convulsion. The private estates of the directors were to be regarded as a fund to provide some remedy for the public embarrassment. A bill was passed, to compel them to deliver, on oath, an estimate of the value of their property, and to prevent their going out of the kingdom. A secret Committee of Inquiry was ap-

*Investigations in the Commons.*

*Flight of the Cashier.*

pointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the Company, he fled to Brabant. A reward of £2,000 was offered for his apprehension; but it was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough to screen him. Knight was arrested at Antwerp; but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. "Screen" became a bye-word. Caricatures—which it is said were become common at this period for political objects—had for their point the Duchess of Kendal and the flight of the cashier. "The Brabant Screen" exhibited the King's mistress sending Knight upon his travels, giving him his despatches from behind a screen. The prudent cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies and ministers of state had been corrupted by the South Sea Directors. The Committee of the Commons reported that "in some of the books produced before them, false and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with erasures and alterations; and in others, leaves were torn out." They found, further, that some books had been destroyed, and others taken away or secreted. Out of the mouths of the directors the committee extracted evidence to show that there had been extensive appropriation of stock to "certain ladies," at the instance of Mr. Secretary Craggs; and the proof was clear that persons high in office had received and held stock during the time that the Company's bill was depending in Parliament, "without any valuable considera-

*"The Screen."*

*Corrupt practices.*

tion paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock." Nevertheless, Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The Earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first Commissioner of the Treasury. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small-pox during the heat of this inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, destroyed himself by poison.

*Suicide of Craggs.*

The charges against the directors were founded upon their practice of "selling their own stock at high prices, at the same time that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the Company;" and upon their various contrivances "to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value" of the South Sea stock. The punishment, under the bill that was passed, was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each; but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in Parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. They may now be considered excessive.

[In 1721, the Holy Synod is appointed as ruler of the Church under the Czar in place of the Patriarchate of

Moscow. France, England and Spain form a defensive alliance. The treaty of Nystad between Russia and Sweden finally confirms Russia's supremacy. France occupies Mauritius, which was deserted by Holland in 1712. Lady M. W. Montagu introduces inoculation for small-pox into England. In 1722, the Emperor, in opposition to England, forms an East India Company at Ostend. The Czar executes his son, Alexis, for opposing his policy. In 1723, the Regent and his minister, Dubois, die, and the King's minority ends. In 1724, Philip V. resigns his throne, but, on the death of his son, resumes it at his wife's exhortation. In 1725, Louis XV. dismisses his betrothed, the Spanish Infanta, and marries Marie Leczynski of Poland; outraged Spain forms an alliance with the Emperor. Russia and other German States join. To counterbalance this alliance, England, France and Prussia form a confederacy, afterward joined by Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Peter the Great dies and is succeeded by his wife. Bering Straits are discovered by a Dane named Bering. In 1726, Russia and Austria form a treaty of alliance for thirty years for offence against the Turks and defence against other Powers. In 1729, Philip V. deserts Austria and joins France and England by the treaty of Seville. The proprietors of Carolina sell their titles, and the colony is divided into North and South Carolina under Royal Government. In 1731, England acknowledges the Pragmatic Sanction, on condition that Maria Theresa shall not marry a Bourbon. Hadley in-

*Inoculation for small-pox introduced into England.*

*Death of Peter the Great.*

vents the quadrant for naval use. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is founded. In 1732, the German States, with the exception of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Bavaria, accept the Pragmatic Sanction. The State of Georgia is founded. In 1733, the secret treaty of the Escurial establishes a family compact between France and Spain. In 1735, Labourdonnais establishes the sugar industry in Mauritius and Réunion. In 1736, the Porteous riots disturb Edinburgh and reveal hostility to the English government. The Czarina Anne declares war against Turkey and seizes Azov. Austria sends an army to help Russia under a Protestant named Seckendorf. The explorations of Herculaneum, which was discovered in 1711, are begun. In 1737, the War of the Polish Succession ends. Seckendorf is disgraced after the Austrians have been defeated. The Czarina Anne obtains Courland for Biron.]

Gentleman's Magazine *founded.*

*Explorations of Herculaneum begun.*

# THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN ATTACK ON TURKEY

## (A.D. 1737-1739)

THOMAS CARLYLE

FROM the Eastern regions our newspapers are very full of events: war with the Turk going on there; Russia and Austria both doing their best against the Turk. The Russians had hardly finished their Polish-election fighting, when they decided to have a stroke at the Turk,—Turk always an especial eye-sorrow to them, since that "Treaty of the Pruth," and Czar Peter's sad rebuff there: Münnich marched direct out of Poland through the Ukraine, with his eye on the Crimea and furious business in that quarter. This is his second campaign there, this of 1737; and furious business had not failed. Last year he stormed the Lines of Perecop, tore open the Crimea; took Azoph, he, or Lacy under him; took many things; this year he laid his plans for Oczakow;—takes Oczakow,—fiery event, blazing in all the newspapers at Reinsberg and elsewhere. Concerning which will the reader accept this condensed testimony by an eye-witness?

*Münnich's campaigns.*

*Report from Oczakow.*

"*Oczakow,* 13th July, 1737. Day before yesterday, Feldmarschall Münnich got to Oczakow, as he had planned,"—strong Turkish town in the nook between the Black Sea and the estuary of the Dnieper;—"with intention to besiege it. Siege train, stores of every sort, which he had set afloat upon the Dnieper in time enough, were to have been ready for him at Oczakow. But the flotilla had been detained by shallows, by waterfalls; not a boat was come, nor could anybody say when they were coming. Meanwhile, nothing is to be had here; the very face of the earth the Turks have burnt: not a blade of grass for cavalry within eight miles, nor a stick of wood for engineers; nor a hole for covert, and the ground so hard you can not raise redoubts on it:—Münnich perceives he must attempt, nevertheless.

*Desperate condition.*

"On his right, by the seashore, Münnich finds some remains of gardens, palisades; scrapes together some vestige of shelter there (five thousand, or even ten thousand, pioneers working desperately all that first night, 11th July, with only half success); and on the morrow commences firing with what artillery he has. Much outfired by the Turks inside;—his enterprise as good as desperate, unless the Dnieper flotilla come soon. July 12, all day the firing continues, and all night; Turks extremely furious: about an hour before daybreak, we notice burning in the interior, 'Some wooden houses kindled by us, the town got on fire yonder,'—and, praise to Heaven, they do not seem to succeed in quenching it

again. Münnich turns out, in various divisions; intent on trying something, had he the least engineer furniture; —hopes desperately there may be promise for him in that internal burning still visible.

"In the centre of Münnich's line is one General Keith, a deliberate, stalwart Scotch gentleman, whom we shall know better; Münnich himself is to the right: could not one try it by scalade; keep the internal burning free to spread, at any rate? 'Advance within musket-shot, General Keith!' orders Münnich's aide-de-camp, cantering up. 'I have been this good while within it,' answers Keith, pointing to his dead men. Aide-de-camp canters up a second time. 'Advance within half musket shot, General Keith, and quit any covert you have!' Keith does so; sends, with his respects to Feldmarschall Münnich, his remonstrance against such a waste of human life. Aide-de-camp canters up a third time: 'Feldmarschall Münnich is trying for a scalade; hopes General Keith will do his best to co-operate!' 'Forward, then!' answers Keith; advances close to the glacis; finds a wet ditch twelve feet broad, and has not a stick of engineer furniture. Keith waits there two hours; his men, under fire all the while, trying this and that to get across; Münnich's scalade going off ineffectual in like manner: —till, at length, Keith's men, and all men, tire of such a business, and roll back in great confusion out of shot range. Münnich gives himself up for lost. And, indeed, says Mannstein, had the Turks sallied out in pursuit at

*Keith's bravery.*

that moment, they might have chased us back to Russia. But the Turks did not sally. And the internal conflagration is not quenched, far from it;—and about nine A.M. their Powder-Magazine, conflagration reaching it, roared aloft into the air, and killed seven thousand of them"—

*Oczakow captured.*

So that Oczakow was taken, sure enough; terms, life only: and every remaining Turk packs off from it, some "twenty thousand inhabitants, young and old," for one sad item.—A very blazing, semi-absurd event, to be read of in Prussian military circles,—where General Keith will be better known one day.

Russian war with the Turk: that means withal, by old Treaties; aid of thirty thousand men from the Kaiser to Russia. Kaiser, so ruined lately, how can he send thirty thousand, and keep them recruited, in such distant expedition? Kaiser, much meditating, is advised it will be better to go frankly into the Turk on his own score, and try for slices of profit from him in this game. Kaiser declares war against the Turk; and what is still more interesting to Friedrich Wilhelm and the Berlin Circles, Seckendorf is named General of it. Feldzeugmeister now Feldmarschall Seckendorf, envy may say what it will, he has marched this season into the Lower-Donau Countries,—going to besiege Widdin, they say,—at the head of a big Army (on paper, almost a hundred and fifty thousand, light troops and heavy)—virtually commander-in-chief; though nominally our fine young friend, Franz of Lorraine, bears the title of Commander,

*The Kaiser declares war against the Turk.*

whom Seckendorf is going to dry nurse in the way sometimes practiced. Going to besiege Widdin, they say. So has the poor Kaiser been advised. His wise, old Eugene is now gone; [1] I fear his advisers,—a youngish Feldzeugmeister, Prince of Hildburghausen, the chief favorite among them,—are none of the wisest. All Protestants, we observe, these favorite Hildburghausens, Schmettaus, Seckendorfs of his; and Vienna is an orthodox Papal Court;—and there is a Hofkriegsrath (Supreme Council of War), which has ruined many a general, poking too meddlesomely into his affairs! On the whole, Seckendorf will have his difficulties. Here is a scene, on the Lower Donau, different enough from that at Oczakow, not far from contemporaneous with it. The Austrian Army is already at Kolitz, a march or two beyond Belgrad:

*Seckendorf's difficulties.*

"*Kolitz,* 2d July, 1737. This day, the army not being on march, but allowed to rest itself, Grand Duke Franz went into the woods to hunt. Hunting up and down, he lost himself; did not return at evening; and, as the night closed in and no generalissimo visible, the Generalissimo *ad Latus* (such the title they had contrived for Seckendorf) was in much alarm. Generalissimo *ad Latus* ordered out his whole force of drummers, trumpeters: to fling themselves, postwise, deeper and deeper into the woods all round; to drum there, and blow, in ever-widening circle, in prescribed notes, and with all energy

*Franz loses himself.*

[1] Died April 30, 1736.

*His resentment.*

till the Grand Duke were found. Grand Duke being found, Seckendorf remonstrated, rebuked; a thought too earnestly, some say, his temper being flurried,"—voice snuffling somewhere in alt, with lisp to help:—"so that the Grand Duke took offence; flung off in a huff; and always looked askance on the Feldmarschall from that time";—quitting him altogether before long; and marching with Khevenhüller, Wallis, Hildburghausen, or any of the subordinate generals rather. Probably Widdin will not go the road of Oczakow, nor the Austrians prosper like the Russians, this summer.

Pöllnitz, in Tobacco-Parliament, and in certain Berlin circles foolishly agape about this new Feldmarschall, maintains always Seckendorf will come to nothing; which his Majesty zealously contradicts—his Majesty, and some short-sighted private individuals still favorable to Seckendorf. Exactly one week after that singular drum-and-trumpet operation on Duke Franz, the last of the Medici dies at Florence; and Serene Fritz, if he knew it, is Grand Duke of Tuscany, according to bargain: a matter important to himself chiefly, and to France, who, for Stanislaus and Lorraine's sake, has had to pay him some 200,000 pounds a year during the brief intermediate state.

*Turk war ends.*

Last news come to Potsdam in these days is, The Kaiser has ended his disastrous Turk war; been obliged to end it; sudden downbreak having at last come upon his unfortunate generals in those parts. Duke Franz was

passionate to be out of such a thing; Franz, General Neipperg and others; and now, "2d September, 1739," like lodgers leaping from a burning house, they are out of it. The Turk gets Belgrad itself, not to mention wide territories further east—Belgrad without shot fired;—nay, the Turk was hardly to be kept from Hanging the Imperial Messenger (a General Neipperg, Duke Franz's old Tutor, and chief Confidant, whom we shall hear more of elsewhere), whose passport was not quite right on this occasion!—Never was a more disgraceful Peace. But also never had been worse fighting; planless, changeful, powerless, melting into futility at every step:—not to be mended by imprisonments in Grätz, and still harsher treatment of individuals. "Has all success forsaken me, then, since Eugene died?" said the Kaiser; and snatched at this Turk Peace; glad to have it, by mediation of France, and on any terms.

*Losses of the Kaiser.*

Had not this Kaiser lost his outlying properties at a fearful rate? Naples is gone; Spanish Bourbon sits in our Naples; comparatively little left for us in Italy. And now the very Turk has beaten us small; insolently fillips the imperial nose of us—threatening to hang our Neipperg, and the like. Were it not for Anne of Russia, whose big horsewhip falls heavy on this Turk, he might almost get to Vienna again, for anything we could do! A Kaiser worthy to be pitied;—whom Friedrich Wilhelm, we perceive, does honestly pity. A Kaiser much beggared, much disgraced in late years; who has played a huge life-

*Anne of Russia.*

game so long, diplomatizing, warring; and except the Shadow of Pragmatic Sanction, has nothing to retire upon.

*The Russians make peace.*

The Russians protested, with astonishment, against such Turk Peace on the Kaiser's part. But there was no help for it. Our ally is gone, the Kaiser has let go this Western skirt of the Turk; and Thamas Kouli Khan (called also Nadir Shah, famed Oriental slasher and slayer of that time) no longer stands upon the Eastern skirt, but "has entered India," it appears; the Russians —their cash, too, running low—do themselves make peace, "about a month after"; restoring Azoph and nearly all their conquests; putting off the ruin of the Turk till a better time.

*Whitefield and Wesley.*

[In 1735, John Wesley goes to work in Georgia. He returns in 1738 and is converted by Peter Bohler, a Moravian. Whitefield undertakes a mission to America; and the next year his example of preaching in the open air is followed by John Wesley, who is consequently excluded from the majority of pulpits. In 1740, Wesley leaves the Moravians and in the next year employs lay preachers and builds chapels for them. In 1741, Whitefield returns from America; and the Moravians found Bethlehem and other colonies in Pennsylvania.]

# THE RISE OF METHODISM AND THE NEW PHILANTHROPY

## (A.D. 1738)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE fall of Walpole revealed a change in the temper of England which was to influence from that time to this its social and political history. New forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of inaction, began at last to tell on the national life. The stir showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry. Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb. The progress of free inquiry, the aversion from theological strife which had been left by the civil wars, the new political and material channels opened to human energy, had produced a general indifference to all questions of religious speculation or religious life. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, "the most remiss of their labors in private, and the least severe in their lives." There was a revolt against religion

*The Church and the Georges.*

and against churches in both the extremes of English society. In the higher circles of society "every one laughs," said Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without much moral or religious training of any sort. "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar," said Hannah More at a far later time, "and that was used to prop a flower-pot." Within the towns things were worse. There was no effective police; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. The criminal class gathered boldness and numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society, laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate; while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London at one time gin-shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for twopence.

*Religious indifference.*

*The religious revival.*

In spite, however, of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of

Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervor and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the

*The Methodists.*

*Whitefield.*

land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions; strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a

*Effect of his preaching.*

new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime. Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the "sweet singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

*Charles Wesley.*

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists, and after his return from a quixotic mission to the Indians of Georgia he again took the lead of the little society, which had removed in the interval to London. In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and skill in writing which no other of the

*John Wesley, 1703-1791.*

*His great qualities.*

Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. It would have been impossible for Wesley to have wielded the power he did had he not shared the follies and extravagance as well as the enthusiasm of his disciples. But with all this extravagance and superstition, Wesley's mind was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary. In his earlier days the bishops had been forced to rebuke him for the narrowness and intolerance of his churchmanship. When Whitefield began his sermons in the fields, Wesley "could not at first reconcile himself to that strange way." He condemned and fought against the admission of laymen as preachers till he found himself left with none but laymen to preach. To the last he clung passionately to the Church of England, and looked on the body he had formed as but a lay society in full communion with it. He broke with the Moravians, who had been the earliest friends of the new movement, when they endangered its safe conduct by their contempt of religious forms. He broke with Whitefield when the great preacher plunged into an extravagant Calvinism. But the same practical temper of mind which led him to reject what was unmeasured, and to be the last to adopt

*His prejudices.*

what was new, enabled him at once to grasp and organize the novelties he adopted. He became himself the most unwearied of field preachers, and his journal for half a century is little more than a record of fresh journeys and fresh sermons. When once driven to employ lay helpers in his ministry, he made their work a new and attractive feature in his system. His earlier asceticism only lingered in a dread of social enjoyments and an aversion from the gayer and sunnier side of life which links the Methodist movement with that of the Puritans. As the fervor of his superstition died down into the calm of age, his cool common-sense discouraged in his followers the enthusiastic outbursts which marked the opening of the revival. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gathered in love-feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone.

*His common-sense.*

The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the

*Influence of the movement.*

lethargy of the clergy; and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day, the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time, no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings, and by her own personal example, Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural laborer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo,

*The new Philanthropy.*

*Sunday schools.*

and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. It is only the moral chivalry of his labors that among a crowd of philanthropists draws us most, perhaps, to the work and character of John Howard. The sympathy which all were feeling for the sufferings of mankind he felt for the sufferings of the worst and most hapless of men. With wonderful ardor and perseverance he devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon, and the murderer. An appointment to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, in 1774, drew his attention to the state of the prisons which were placed under his care; and from that time the quiet country gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading his Bible and studying his thermometer, became the most energetic and zealous of reformers. The book in which he recorded his terrible experience, and the plans which he submitted for the reformation of criminals, made him the father, so far as England is concerned, of prison discipline. But his labors were far from being confined to England. In journey after journey he visited the jails of Holland and Germany, till his longing to discover some means of checking the fatal progress of the plague led him to examine the lazarettos of Europe and the East. He was still engaged in this work of charity when he was seized by a malignant fever at Cherson in Southern Russia, and "laid quietly in the earth," as he desired.

*John Howard.*

*Reform in prison discipline.*

*England and Spain at war.*

[In 1739, war breaks out between England and Spain. Admiral Vernon captures Portobello, and, on a voyage round the world, Anson attacks Peru. The Portuguese lose almost all their possessions on the northwest coast of India. In 1740, the Emperor dies and the male line of the Hapsburgs becomes extinct. The Czarina Anne dies. Frederick the Great succeeds his father, and, while the succession to the Empire is being contested, he seizes Silesia.]

# WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

## (A.D. 1740-1748)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

IN 1724, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction, or fundamental law, which regulates the order of succession in the family of Austria. By this law, in default of male issue, Charles's eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, was called to the inheritance of the Austrian dominions, and her children and descendants after her. The Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed by all the German princes, and several of the other powers of Europe, with the exception of the French and Spanish Bourbons, who were always jealous of the power of Austria.

*The Pragmatic Sanction.*

The death of Augustus II., King of Poland, in 1733, was the signal of a new war on the part of the Bourbons against Austria, ostensibly on account of the Polish succession, which was disputed between Augustus III. and Stanislaus Leczinski. By the Peace of Vienna, in November, 1735, the Emperor gave up Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, Infante of Spain, while the succession of

*War of the Austrian Succession.*

Tuscany, after the death of Gian Gastone, the last of the Medici, who was childless, was secured to Maria Theresa of Austria and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, who, in 1739, took possession of that fine country. The Emperor Charles died at Vienna, 20th of October, 1740, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, and afterward in the Empire, by his daughter, Maria Theresa, after a long and memorable war, known by the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. Charles was the last male offspring of the House of Austria-Hapsburg. The present house, though frequently called the House of Hapsburg, is Austria-Lorraine, being the descendants of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine.

*Maria Theresa.*

Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Empress of Germany, was born in 1717. By the death of her father, Charles VI., she was, in accordance both with the rights of blood and the faith of treaties, the lawful sovereign of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Upper and Lower, and numerous other states, countries, and cities, in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Of this vast inheritance she accordingly took undisputed possession. But she had soon to experience the faithlessness of princes. Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria—a house which, from its alliance with France, and its own ambition, seemed destined to be the curse of the Empire and the House of Austria—claimed Bohemia. Augustus of Saxony, who, like his Queen, had agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, and by so doing had

*Conflicting claims.*

procured the support of Austria in his election to the throne of Poland, with great modesty demanded the whole of the Austrian dominions. A similar demand was made by the King of Spain; by the King of France; while the King of Sardinia, unable to cope with monarchs so powerful, showed his superior moderation, by declaring that he would be contented with the Duchy of Milan. Maria Theresa, however, with a spirit and decision remarkable for her age, lost no time in repairing to Vienna and taking possession of Austria, Bohemia, and her other German States; she then proceeded to Presburg, took the oaths to the constitution of Hungary, and was solemnly proclaimed Queen of that kingdom in 1741.

The appearance of a young, helpless female on the thrones of those vast possessions, opened to these chivalrous princes a glorious prospect for the dismemberment of her States. But while they were carefully apportioning their respective shares of the spoil, a new and more dangerous competitor appeared in Frederick, King of Prussia. He offered the young Queen his friendship on the condition of her surrendering Silesia to him, but she resolutely refused, and Frederick invaded that province. The Elector of Bavaria overran Austria and Bohemia, and pushed his troops to the gates of Vienna. Maria Theresa, being obliged to quit her capital, repaired to Presburg. Convoking the Hungarian Diet, she appeared in the midst of that assembly with her infant son, Joseph,

*Invasion of Silesia by Frederick.*

in her arms. She told the magnates, prelates, and deputies, that "being assailed by her enemies on every side, forsaken by her friends, and finding even her own relatives hostile to her, she had no hopes except in their loyalty, and that she had come to place under their protection the daughter and the son of their kings." This heart-stirring appeal was answered by a burst of chivalrous enthusiasm. The Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords, unanimously cried out, "Moriamur pro *Rege* nostro, Maria Theresa," and the whole military force of Hungary was soon in arms to defend their Queen. Her troops, under General Kevenhuller and Prince Charles of Lorraine, her brother-in-law, fought gallantly, and drove the French and Bavarians out of the hereditary States.

*Chivalrous enthusiasm.*

Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, was in the meantime elected Emperor of Germany, by the Diet assembled at Frankfort, by the title of Charles VII. Frederick of Prussia soon made peace with Maria Theresa, who was obliged to surrender Silesia to him. But, though still menaced by these royal bandits, the Queen did not despair: supported by Hungary, which exhibited the most chivalrous devotion to her cause, she commenced a career of the warfare highly glorious to the Austrian arms. In 1744, Frederick again declared war against her, and invaded Bohemia; but the Elector of Saxony, who had made his peace with her, sent the Queen reinforce-

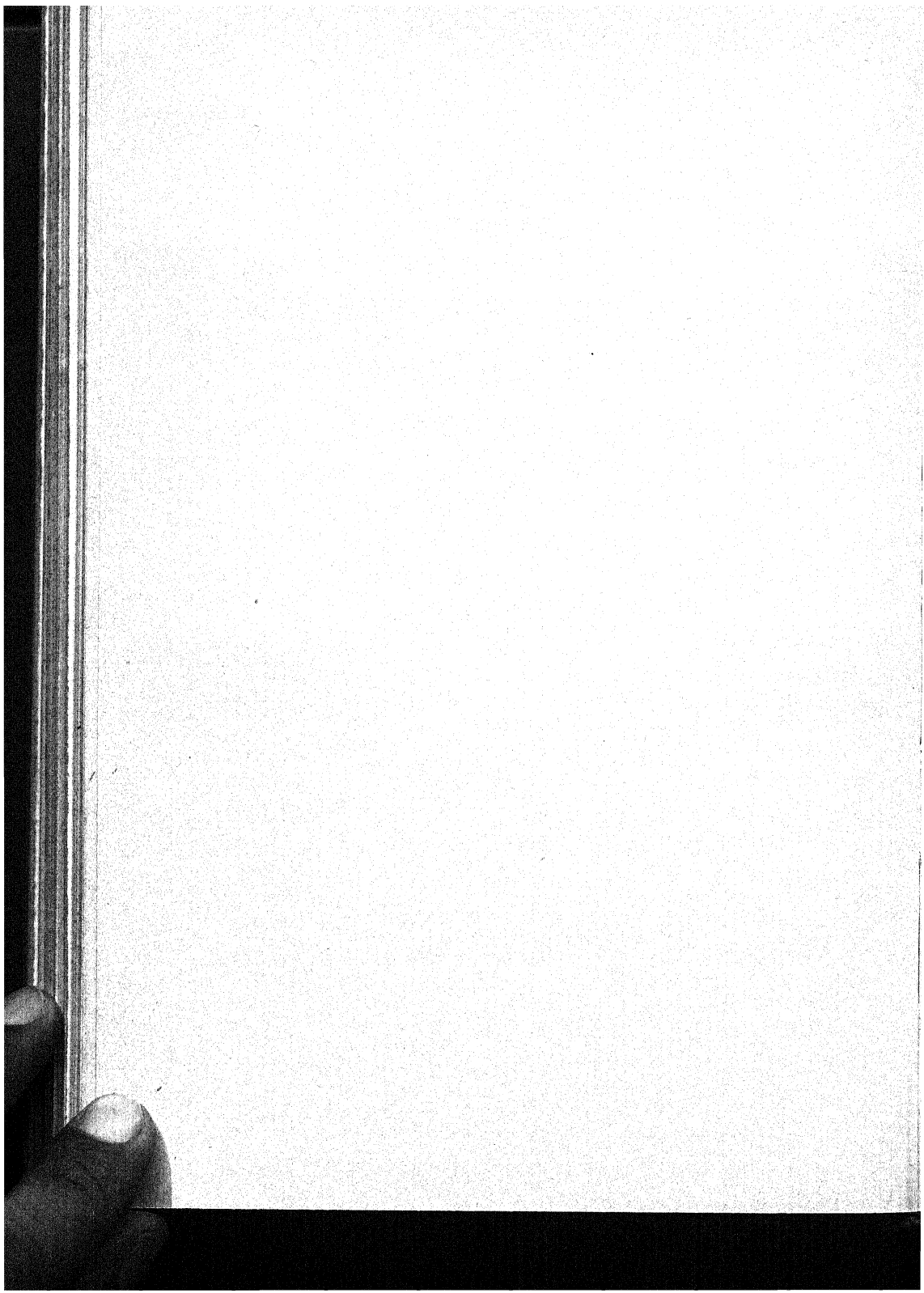
*A rival Emperor elected.*

ments, which obliged the Prussians to evacuate the country.

*Francis I. of Lorraine elected Emperor, 1745.*

In 1745, Charles VII. died, and Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, was elected Emperor. In 1747, the war continued to rage in Italy and Flanders, with various success. In 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated the war called "the War of the Austrian Succession," and Maria Theresa was left in peaceful possession of all her hereditary dominions, except Silesia, which the King of Prussia kept.

[In 1744, France declares war against England and Austria, and an expedition to restore the Young Pretender is ruined by a storm. In 1745, however, he lands in Scotland, wins the battle of Preston Pans, crosses the Border and penetrates England as far as Derby, but is afraid to proceed further. He retraces his steps and defeats the royal troops at Falkirk in January, 1746. He is totally defeated at Culloden, but by the devotion of his followers he escapes to France. The Highlanders are disarmed and the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs is abolished.]



# THE CAPTURE OF CAPE BRETON

## (A.D. 1745)

### TOBIAS SMOLLETT

THE naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havana squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East Indies, captured several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North America, a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense.

*English successes.*

*Louisbourg attacked.*

The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his Majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town, and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner that no succors could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers

*The blockade.*

and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the 17th day of June, when the city of Louisbourg, and the isle of Cape Breton, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbor, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

*Terms of capitulation.*

The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The possession of Cape Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbor; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great

*Pepperel honored.*

*Advantages of this conquest.*

Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, Judge-Advocate of the Court of Admiralty in New England. He demonstrated that the reduction of Cape Breton would put the English in possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Lawrence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a step-mother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals.

[In 1746, Labourdonnais seizes Madras, and Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, defeats a large Hindoo force. In 1747, Ahmed Shah Durani founds modern Afghanistan. In 1748, the Ohio Company receives its charter and begins to annoy the French settlers. Eng-

land acquires Madras. The Punjab is invaded by Ahmed Shah. Excavations are begun at Pompeii. In 1751, Dupleix menaces Madras. Clive volunteers and captures Arcot. The first two volumes of the *Encyclopédie* appear. Mason and Dixon determine the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and continue westward until stopped by the Indians. In 1752, Clive captures Trichinopoly. In 1753, the Levant Company is dissolved. Duquesne seizes Fort Duquesne and arrests traders of the Ohio Company. Virginia strongly protests. Sir Hans Sloane's bequests form the nucleus of the British Museum. In 1754, Washington, who is sent to Ohio with the Virginia militia, is defeated. Accompanied by Washington, Braddock is sent to capture Fort Duquesne. In 1755, Boscawen captures French ships and war breaks out.]

*Clive captures Arcot.*

*The British Museum.*

# BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

## (A.D. 1755)

JAMES GRANT

WHILE the New Englanders were employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the Ohio. The colonies on the coast had extended themselves on every side, while the Indian trade had been alluring many wandering dealers into the inland country, where they found well-watered plains and green savannas, luxuriant woods, a delightful climate, and a fruitful soil. These advantages appearing to compensate for the distance from the sea, a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a tract of land beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and near the stately Ohio commenced the establishment of a colony. To this part of America the French laid instant claim, and, driving away the new settlers, built a strong fort, called Duquesne, to command the entrance into the country on the Ohio and Mississippi; and from its situation it bade fair to become the most impor-

*Settlements beyond the Alleghanies.*

tant military work in North America, as it stood 250 miles west by north of Philadelphia.

*Braddock arrives in Virginia.*

A post, called Fort Cumberland, was now also built at Wills's Creek; and on the 14th of January, Major-General Edward Braddock sailed from Cork, in Ireland, with the regiments of Sir Peter Halkett, Bart., and Thomas Dunbar, and with these battalions he landed safely in Virginia shortly before the end of February.

Braddock was an officer of the Coldstream Guards, a battalion of which he had command in the Netherlands and at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

Lord Mahon, in his *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht,* says thus of this officer:—

*Character of Braddock.*

"Braddock was a man cast in the same mold as General Hawley, of a brave but brutal temper, and, like Hawley also, a personal favorite of the Duke of Cumberland. His rigorous ideas of discipline made him hateful to his soldiers; and from the same cause he held in great contempt the American militia, seeing that they could not go through their exercises with the same dexterity which he had so often admired and enforced in Hyde Park. As to the Indians, the allies of France, he treated with disdain all the warnings he received against an ambush or surprise from them; and the Indians of his own party who would have been his surest guards against this particular peril, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his demeanor, that most of them forsook their banners."

He was destitute of the caution, stratagem, and secrecy necessary in a leader of troops.

His second in command, Sir Peter Halkett, of Pitfirrane, in Fifeshire, was a brave and honorable officer. At the late battle of Preston Pans, he, with all the officers of his regiment (the 44th), had been taken prisoners by the Prince, but the whole were released on parole. He was one who, with five others, viz., the Honorable Mr. Ross, Captain Lucy Scott, and Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, refused to rejoin their regiments at the Duke of Cumberland's command and threat of forfeiting their commissions. Their reply was, "His Highness is master of these, but not of our honor." *Sir Peter Halkett.*

With this expedition of Braddock there was a naval force, consisting of two fifty-gun ships, under the Honorable Captain Keppel; and its departure was no sooner known at the Court of France than it began to assume a hostile disposition.

From the date of his landing, General Braddock should have been able to have entered upon action, collaterally with Colonel Monkton, early in the spring; but unfortunately he was delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army. When the latter was ready to march, these men had failed to provide a sufficient supply of provisions for the troops and a competent number of wagons for transport. "This accident was foreseen," says Smollett, "by almost every person who knew anything of our plantations upon the continent of America: *Braddock is delayed.*

for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn and most other sorts of provision, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses."

*His difficulties.*

General Braddock should therefore have landed in Pennsylvania; and if his first camp had been formed at Franks Town, he would not have had more than 80 miles to march to reach Fort Duquesne, instead of 130, which the troops had to traverse from their camp at Wills's Creek. By great efforts he ultimately procured 15 wagons and 100 draught-horses, instead of 150 wagons and 300 horses, which the Virginian contractors had promised him; while the provisions they furnished were so bad as to be unfit for use.

Under these adverse circumstances he began his march through woods, deserts, and morasses; scenes very different to those where his past experience had been,—the fertile plains of the Low Countries and the stately parks of London. Before he left the latter he had received, in the handwriting of Colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the Duke of Cumberland, indicating that he was to attack Niagara, to leave the reduction of Crown Point to the Provincial forces; but, above all, both verbally

*His instructions.*

and in writing, he had been cautioned by Cumberland to beware of ambush and surprise.

Full of his own conceit, he utterly disdained to ask the opinion of any officer under his command; and proceeded at the head of 2,200 bayonets, on the 10th of June, for the Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's reverse in the preceding year. There he found it necessary to leave part of his slender force, under Colonel Dunbar, and all his heavy baggage; and advanced with only 1,200 men and ten pieces of artillery, although he was informed the French commander in Fort Duquesne expected a fresh reinforcement of 500 regular troops. He marched on with so much expedition that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he had to pass through, as if the nearer he approached the enemy the safer he would be from danger.

On the 8th of July he encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Colonel Dunbar was now forty miles in his rear; and his officers, but more especially Sir Peter Halkett, entreated him to proceed with caution, and employ the friendly Indians who were with them as an advanced guard, in case of ambuscades. In spite of this he resumed his march next day, without sending a single scout into the dense woods which now surrounded his slender force.

*His lack of caution.*

About noon the troops entered a hollow vale, on each side of which there grew a dense primeval forest and thick brushwood. Suddenly the echoes of the soli-

tude were awakened by a fatal and appalling whoop, the war-cry of the native Indians; and in a moment there was opened upon the front and all along the left flank of Braddock's force a deadly and disastrous fire, from an enemy so skilfully and artfully disposed that not a man of them could be seen, the flashing of their muskets alone indicating where they lay. These assailants were the native Indians, assisted by a few French troops from the fort.

*Attack by French and Indians.*

The advanced guard instantly fell back on the main body; the panic and confusion became general, and most of the troops fled with precipitation; and, notwithstanding that all their officers behaved with the most brilliant gallantry, it was impossible to stop their career. And now General Braddock, instead of opening a fire of grape from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, and so scouring the place whence this fusillade was coming, or despatching any of his Indians to take the ambush in flank, obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave men who remained with him to advance.

*Braddock's obstinacy.*

Thickly fell the dead and dying around him, and all the officers were singled out in succession and shot down, as the marksmen could distinguish them by their dress, their gorgets, and sashes, which were now worn in the German fashion, round the waist. At last Braddock, whose obstinacy, pride, and courage seemed to increase with the peril around, after having no less than five

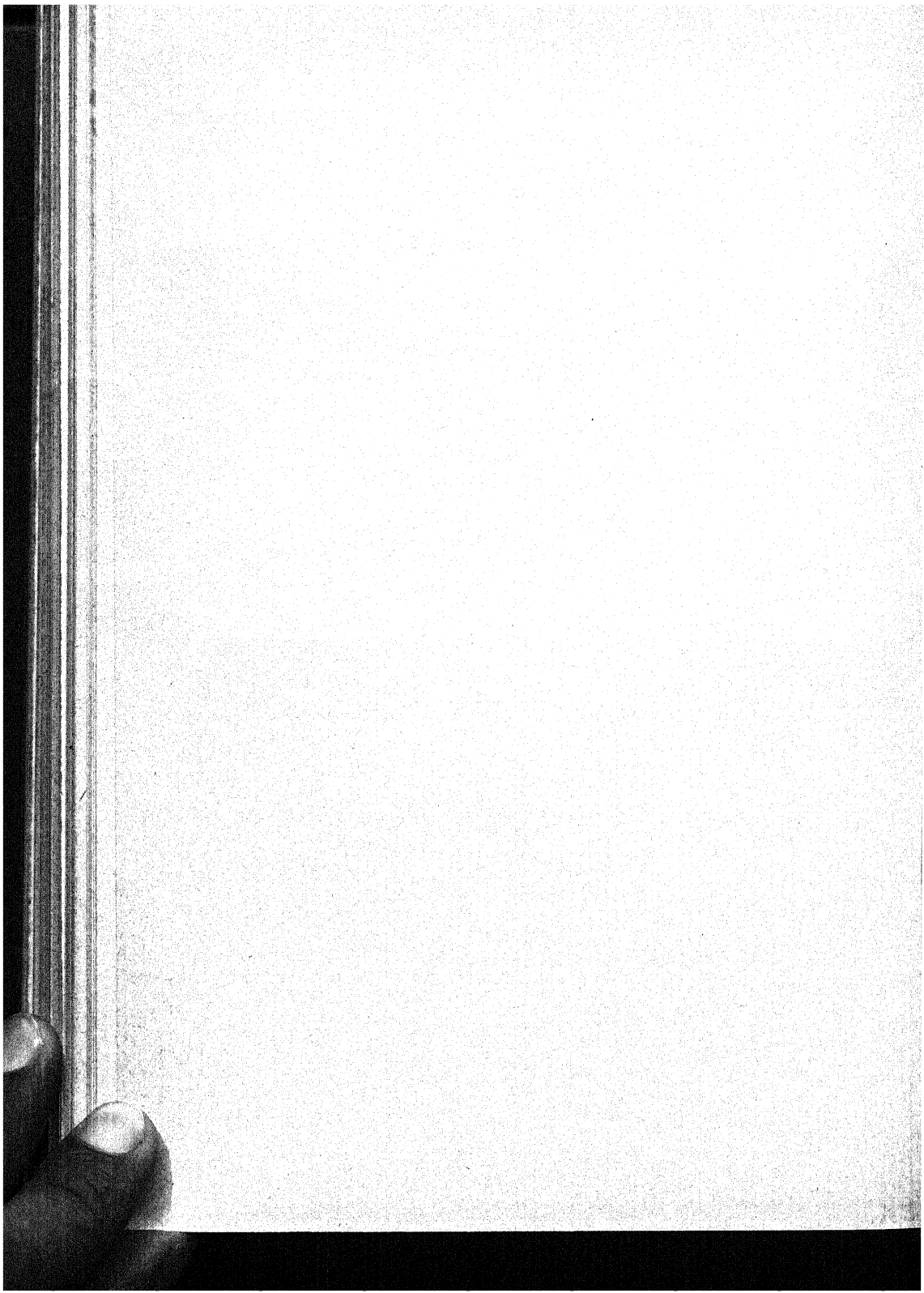
horses killed under him, received a musket-shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, after being carried off the field by his aide-de-camp, the Honorable Colonel Gage, and some soldiers, whom, according to Lord Mahon, that officer had to bribe by offering them a guinea and a bottle of rum each. Gage, son of the viscount of that name, died a lieutenant-general, in 1788.

*Confusion and flight.*

When Braddock fell, the confusion of the few who remained became complete; a most disorderly flight ensued across a river which they had just passed. They were not followed, as the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were all left behind; and these, together with the savage use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife on the 700 dead and wounded who lay in the little valley, afforded ample occupation for the exulting Indians. Braddock's cabinet was taken, with all his letters and instructions, of which the Court of France made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes.

*British losses.*

Among those who perished by the first fire were Sir Peter Halkett and his son James, a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment, and the son of Governor Shirley; among those wounded were two aides-de-camp, Captains Orm and Morris, and Sir John Sinclair, the quartermaster-general. What number of men the enemy had in this ambuscade, or what loss they sustained at the hands of the few who resisted, was never ascertained, for the survivors never halted until they reached Fort Cumberland.



# THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON

## (A.D. 1755)

J. CHASE

IT is universally agreed that all the mischief proceeded from the first three shocks of the earthquake, which were attended with a tumbling sort of motion, like the waves of the sea, so that it was amazing the houses resisted so long as they did. *Three earthquake shocks.*

No place nor time could have been more unlucky for the miserable people! The city was full of narrow streets; the houses strong built and high, so that their falling filled up all the passages; the day of All Saints with the Portuguese—a great holiday, when all the altars of the churches were lighted up with many candles, just at the time when they were fullest of people! Most of the churches fell immediately. The streets were thronged with people going to and from mass, many of whom must have been destroyed by the mere falling of the upper parts of the houses.

It would be impossible to pretend justly to describe

the universal horror and distress that everywhere prevailed! Many saved themselves by going upon the water, while others found there the death they hoped to have avoided. Some were wonderfully preserved by getting to the tops of their houses; more by retiring to the bottoms of them. Others, again, unhurt, were imprisoned under the ruins of their dwellings, only to be burnt alive! while two Dutchmen, in particular, were said to have escaped by the fire reaching the ruins of their house, and lighting them through passages they would not otherwise have found out. The earnest but unheeded supplications of the disabled, and the violent noisy prayers of the people, who thought it to be the Day of Judgment, added to the general distraction. In short, death in every shape soon grew familiar to the eye.

*The universal horror and distress.*

The river is said to have risen and fallen several times successively in a most wonderful manner; at one time threatening to overflow the lower parts of the city, and directly afterward leaving the ships almost aground in the middle of its bed, showing rocks that had never been seen before.

*Duration of the first shock.*

The duration of the first shock (which came without any warning, except a great noise heard by the people near the water-side), is variously reported, but by none is estimated at less than three minutes and a half. At the latter part of it (I suppose), I was thrown over the wall, and fell about four stories, between the houses, where I must have lain but a little time, if it was the

second shock that I felt in the Portuguese man's house—which was said to have happened at ten o'clock (though by some people it is confounded with the first). I almost think it could not have been the third that I felt at Mr. Jorg's house; for as that took place at twelve o'clock, I must have remained a long time in the street, whereas it appeared to me that, instead of two hours, as it must have been if between the second and third shocks, I lay there scarcely a quarter of an hour.

Before I left Mr. Jorg's house on the Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, which was in the same street with ours, called Pedras Nagras, situated upon the hill leading up to the castle, I saw all the middle part of the city to the King's palace, and from thence up the opposite hill to us, leading to the Baira Alto, containing a number of parishes, all in one great blaze.

Three times I thought myself inevitably lost! The first, when I saw all the city moving like the water; the second, when I found myself shut up between four walls; and, the third time, when, with that vast fire before me, I thought myself to be abandoned in Mr. Jorg's house; and even in the square, where I remained the Saturday night and Sunday, the almost continual trembling of the earth, as well as the sinking of the great stone quay adjoining to the square, at the third great shock at twelve o'clock (covered, as it was said, with three hundred people, or perhaps more justly with one hundred and fifty, who were endeavoring to get into

*The city in a blaze.*

*Sinking of the great stone quay.*

boats, and were, boats and all, swallowed up, which was the reason so few boats ventured on the river for some time after), made me fearful lest the water had undermined the square, and that at every succeeding shock we should likewise sink; or else, as the ground was low, and even with the water, the least rising of it would overflow us. Full of these terrors, as well as the distresses already mentioned, it more than once occurred to me that the Inquisition, with all its utmost cruelty, could not have invented half such a variety of tortures for the mind as we were then suffering.

*Soldiers turn plunderers.*

Had the general consternation been less, not only many lives, but even much property might have been saved; for the fire did not till the Saturday morning, reach the Custom-House, which stood next to the waterside, and had large open places on each side of it; so that great multitudes of bundles, which caused us so much distress, might easily have been saved by boats, as in some parts the fire was but two days in getting to them. But the King's soldiers, among whom were many foreign deserters, instead of assisting the people, turned plunderers, adding to the fires, as some before their execution confessed.

No fire came out of the ground, but the whole was occasioned by fallen houses; nor were there any openings of the earth, unless the sinking of the quay was caused by one, but everywhere innumerable cracks, from many of which were thrown out water and sand.

The King sent directly to the nearest garrison for his troops, upon whose arrival order was restored; and the butchers and bakers dispersed about to provide for the people, who were not permitted to move further from the city without passes. The common people were immediately forced by the soldiers with swords drawn to bury the dead bodies, the stench growing so noisome that bad consequences were apprehended from it. The judges were also dispersed about with orders to execute upon the spot all who were found guilty of murder or theft. It was said before we left the place that there were above eighty bodies hanging upon gibbets round about the city. Several of the ships were searched, and none were allowed to leave the harbor without permission.

*Severity of rules enforced.*

All the heart of the city (the rich part of it) was burnt. The suburbs, which were very large, escaped, and have since been repaired. All the towns and villages round about suffered more or less. Setuval was not only thrown down and burnt, but afterward overflowed. The shock was strongly felt at Oporto, 150 miles to the northward, and even at Madrid, 300 miles from Lisbon.

*Extent of the earthquake.*

Every place to the south suffered greatly. The royal palace and convent at Mafra were not thrown down, nor the grand aqueduct.

The royal family were at Belem, where they most commonly resided. It was said a large stone grazed the Queen's neck as she went downstairs. None of them, however, was hurt.

The Portuguese from the first ran into two extremes; making the number of the inhabitants of their city to be much greater than it really was, and, on the other hand, as much diminishing that of the persons who perished. The former, they insisted, could not be so little as 350,000; but Mr. Hake, from many years' residence in the place, thinks 250,000 to have been the outside; and the latter they were desirous of concealing for political reasons, therefore it is unlikely that the number will ever be known. In one of their best accounts since published, it is calculated at about 15,000; but Mr. John Bristow, junior, has told me that he had from the very best authority (as I imagine, the Secretary of State) that the number of the dead found and buried was 22,000 and some hundreds; in which case, as there must have remained a yet larger number under the ruins, the computation would be moderate at 50,000 people lost by the earthquake.

*Number of people killed.*

There were sixty-nine British subjects killed on that occasion, most of whom were Irish Roman Catholics. Only about twelve or thirteen English out of three hundred—a most moderate number in proportion to the general loss. This, I suppose, was greatly owing (next to Divine Providence) to the distance they were at from the streets, where the destruction was almost over before they could arrive. Mrs. Hake, sister to Sir Charles Hardy, was killed by the falling of the front of her own house,

*Number of British killed.*

after she had got into the street. Her body was found under the rubbish three months after, not at all changed.

*Joy at meeting friends.*

It is inconceivable as well as inexpressible the joy it gave us to meet with one another, each thinking the other in a manner to be risen from the dead, and all having wonderful escapes to relate, all equally satisfied to have preserved their lives only, without desiring anything further. But soon, this joyful impression passing away, and cares and necessities making themselves felt, many, on considering their utterly destitute condition, almost regretted that the same stroke had not deprived them of life which had stripped them of all means of existence.

*Behavior of the Portuguese.*

As for the Portuguese, they were entirely employed in a kind of religious madness, lugging about saints without heads or limbs, telling one another how they met with such misfortunes; and if by any chance they espied a bigger, throwing their own aside, they hauled away the greater weight of holiness, kissing those of each other that they encountered; while their clergy declared that the earthquake was a judgment on them for their wickedness.



# THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

## (A.D. 1756-1763)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

BOTH in India and America the interests of France and England had long been clashing. Open war was at last declared. Already blood had been spilled in the colonies; but it was not until 1756 that the German King of England, trembling for the safety of his beloved Hanover, formed an alliance with Frederic of Prussia, and prepared for a stern struggle. The great powers of Europe ranged themselves on one side or other. Austria, glad to see the tie between France and Prussia at last broken, took arms in the hope of recovering the lost Silesia. Thus Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and Poland were arrayed against Prussia and England; and the great Seven Years' War began.

*Opposing interests.*

The Colonial War between France and England, which interweaves itself with the Seven Years' War, lies beyond our scope. We shall trace the story of the war as it affected Continental Europe only; and, to make the

sketch clearer, we shall follow the order of the seven campaigns.

*Frederic invades Saxony.*

Frederic began the war. At the head of 70,000 men he invaded Saxony, moving his troops by converging roads toward Dresden, the great centre of attack. He defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. Then seizing the archives of Dresden, and smashing the cabinet in which the State papers were kept, he read the whole story of the secret plot laid for the partition of Prussia. These papers he published in order to defend the step he had taken.

*Invasion of Bohemia.*

The second campaign—greatest of the seven—began with the invasion of Bohemia by Frederic and his Prussians. Near Prague he won a great battle over the Austrians, and then besieged the city. But the advance of the Austrian Marshal, Daun, whose intrenched camp at Kolin was the scene of Frederic's first great defeat, saved the Bohemian capital. A thunder-shower of misfortunes then seemed to burst over the head of the Prussian King. The house of Brandenburg tottered to its lowest stone, —Russians breaking through his eastern frontier, Swedes in Pomerania marching on Berlin, his friends, the English, driven in disgrace from Hanover by the French, who were rapidly advancing into Saxony. In the midst of all his mother died. He loved her well, and in his utter despair suicide seemed his only refuge from a crowd of miseries. Then came the turn of the tide. The Russian Empress took ill, and her troops were re-

called. This was one foe less. Dashing suddenly into Saxony, with only 20,000 men, he faced a French and Austrian army, twice the size of his own, at the village of Rossbach.

About eleven o'clock in the morning of a winter day, the massive lines of the allied armies advanced in battle array, exulting in their strength, and sure of victory. Frederic, seeming not to stir, silently moved his troops into a new position. Their march was concealed by the broken ground; and when, later in the day, the allies moved to the attack, they were met and broken into huddled crowds by an avalanche of horses, men, and cannon-shot, pouring with terrific speed and force upon their lines, already disordered by the hurry of their advance. In half an hour the fate of the day was decided. While Frederic lost only a few hundred men, nearly 9,000 of the foe were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

*Battle of Rossbach.*

Just a month later (December 5) Frederic defeated the Austrians in the great battle of Leuthen, or Lissa, in Silesia. His tactics were here the same as at Rossbach. Feigning to attack their right wing, he suddenly concentrated a great force, which he had quietly mustered behind the hills, upon their weakened left, and swept it before him. Instead of returning the move, the Austrian general moved the right wing up to support the broken left. But he was too late; and the whole Austrian force was driven from the field, in spite of their gallant stand, maintained for a full hour among the houses of Leuthen.

*Battle of Leuthen.*

The action lasted from one to four in the day. The Austrians lost in killed and wounded 12,000 men; the Prussian loss was at least 5,000. The immediate results of the victory were the recapture of Silesia, which had been overrun by the Austrians, and the exaltation of Frederic to the greatest fame. London was a blaze of illumination in his honor, and the English Parliament voted him £700,000 a year.

*Battle of Zorndorf.*

Early in the third campaign, an army of English and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Brunswick, drove the French back across the Rhine. Later in the year, Frederic inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Russians at Zorndorf in Brandenburg. From nine in the morning till seven in the evening, the Russians, formed into a square, held their ground under incessant discharges of artillery, followed by rapid charges of horse and foot. Twenty-one thousand Russians lay slain on this fatal field. Still later in the season, Count Daun, the leader of the Austrians, broke the right wing of Frederic's army at Hochkirchen in Saxony; but on the whole the cause of the Prussian King was triumphant in the campaign. He still held Silesia; and the French had been driven from Germany.

*Prussian reverses.*

Blow after blow fell heavily on Frederic in the fourth year of the war. It is true that his ally, Ferdinand of Brunswick, defeated the French in the battle of Minden (August 1), thus saving the Electorate of Hanover from a second conquest. But the Prussian King himself, meet-

ing the Russians at Kunersdorf in Brandenburg, was driven from the field with the loss of 18,000 men. Dresden was taken and held by the Austrians. An army of nearly 20,000 Prussians, hemmed in by Austrian bayonets among the passes of Bohemia, was forced to surrender at discretion to Marshal Daun.

*Frederic's desperate position.*

After some vain attempts at negotiations, the war continued with increased bitterness. Frederic was desperate. He stood at bay amid a gigantic host of 200,000 men; and all his efforts could not muster half that number. Yet with these he was victorious, gaining strength from the very hopelessness of his cause. The defeat of his general, Fouqué, in Silesia roused him to action. Drawing off Daun by a pretended march into Silesia, he turned suddenly upon Dresden. For many days a storm of cannon-shot poured upon the city, crumbling some of its finest buildings into dust. But the return of Daun, who quickly perceived the false move he had made, obliged Frederic to abandon the siege. Yet he soon made up for this temporary check. By his victory over Laudohn at Liegnitz, when three Austrian generals lay round his camp, sure now that they had the lion in their toils, he prevented the union of the Russian and Austrian forces. Then, enraged by the pillage of Berlin, into which the Russians and Austrians had made a hasty dash, he followed up his success by an attack upon the camp of Daun, who had intrenched himself strongly at Torgau on the Elbe. Broken three times by the fire of two hun-

*Battles of Liegnitz and Torgau.*

dred Austrian cannon, the Prussian troops struggled bravely up to the batteries, took them, and drove the defenders in disorder across the river. Darkness alone saved the Austrians from annihilation. The immediate result of this great victory was the recovery by Frederic of all Saxony except Dresden. And, stricken with sudden fear, his enemies all shrank away from Prussia. This year is also marked by the formation of a secret treaty, called the Family Compact, formed between the Bourbons of France and Spain.

*The Family Compact.*

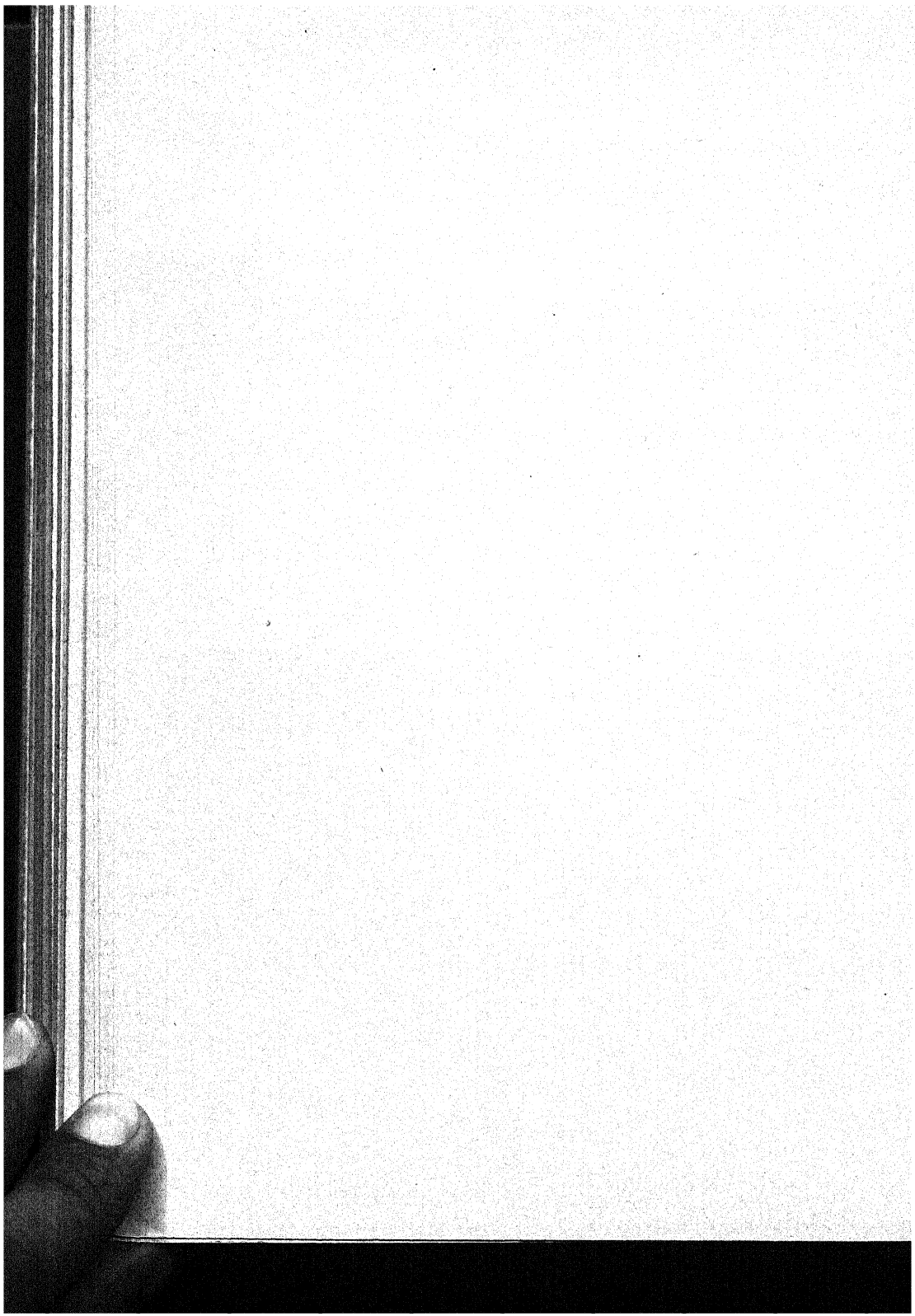
The war dragged on through its sixth campaign. The King of Prussia, thoroughly exhausted by his enormous efforts, remained in a strong camp in the heart of Silesia, watching his foes, but able to do no more. Again, we are told, the thought of suicide crossed his mind.

A death saved him. Elizabeth of Russia died on the 5th of January, 1762, and her successor, Peter III., Frederic's warm admirer and friend, not only made peace, but sent him aid. The example set by Russia was followed by Sweden. Then came the Peace of Paris, concluded by England, France and Spain. Thus Austria and Prussia fronted each other alone, and they, too, signed the Peace of Hubertsburg, which left the face of Germany, on the whole, unchanged. Frederic still held the small province of Silesia, for the sake of which the life-blood of more than a million had been poured out like water. And so ended the great Seven Years' War, of which the Prussian King was the central figure, and in

*Peace of Hubertsburg.*

which he won imperishable renown as a gallant soldier and a daring tactician.

[In 1756, the French take Port Mahon, Admiral Byng neglecting to relieve it. Surajah Dowlah takes Calcutta and 123 English captives are suffocated in the Black Hole.] *Port Mahon taken.*





THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE AFTER HIS VICTORY (*Page* 208)

FROM THE PAINTING BY DUPRAY

# THE CONQUESTS OF BENGAL AND CANADA

## (A.D. 1757-1764)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

IT was fortune rather than his genius which showered on Pitt the triumphs which signalized the opening of his ministry. In the East the daring of a merchant's clerk made a company of English traders the sovereigns of Bengal, and opened that wondrous career of conquest which has added the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, to the dominion of the British crown. Recalled by broken health to England, Clive returned at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War to win for England a greater prize than that which his victories had won for it in the supremacy of the Carnatic. He had been only a few months at Madras when a crime whose horror still lingers in English memories called him to Bengal. Bengal, the delta of the Ganges, was the richest and most fertile of all the provinces of India. Its rice, its sugar, its silk, and the produce of its looms, were famous in European markets. Its vice-

*Clive returns to India.*

roys, like their fellow lieutenants, had become practically independent of the Emperor, and had added to Bengal the provinces of Orissa and Behar. Surajah Dowlah, the master of this vast domain, had long been jealous of the enterprise and wealth of the English traders; and, roused at this moment by the instigation of the French, he appeared before Fort William, seized its settlers, and thrust a hundred and fifty of them into a small prison called the Black Hole of Calcutta. The heat of an Indian summer did its work of death. The wretched prisoners trampled each other under foot in the madness of thirst, and in the morning only twenty-three remained alive. Clive sailed at the news with a thousand Englishmen and two thousand sepoys to wreak vengeance for the crime. He was no longer the boy-soldier of Arcot; and the tact and skill with which he met Surajah Dowlah in the negotiations by which the Viceroy strove to avert a conflict were sullied by the Oriental falsehood and treachery to which he stooped. But his courage remained unbroken. When the two armies faced each other on the plain of Plassey the odds were so great that on the very eve of the battle a council of war counselled retreat. Clive withdrew to a grove hard by, and after an hour's lonely musing gave the word to fight. Courage, in fact, was all that was needed. The fifty thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse who were seen covering the plain at daybreak on the 23d of

*Black Hole of Calcutta.*

*Battle of Plassey.*

June, 1757, were soon thrown into confusion by the English guns, and broke in headlong rout before the English charge. The death of Surajah Dowlah enabled the Company to place a creature of its own on the throne of Bengal; but his rule soon became a nominal one. With the victory of Plassey began in fact the Empire of England in the East.

*Pitt and Frederick.*

The year of Plassey was the year of a victory hardly less important in the West. There was little indeed in the military expeditions which marked the opening of Pitt's ministry to justify the trust of his country; for money and blood were lavished on buccaneering descents upon the French coasts which did small damage to the enemy. But incidents such as these had little weight in the minister's general policy. His greatness lies in the fact that he recognized the genius of Frederick the Great, and resolved to give him an energetic support. On his entry into office he refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven, which had reduced Frederick to despair by throwing open his realm to a French advance; protected his flank by gathering an English and Hanoverian force on the Elbe, and on the counsel of the Prussian King placed the best of his generals, the Prince of Brunswick, at its head; while subsidy after subsidy was poured into Frederick's exhausted treasury. Pitt's trust was met by the most brilliant display of military genius which the modern world had as yet witnessed. Two months after his repulse at Kolin, Frederick flung himself on a

*Rossbach, Nov. 1757.*

French army which had advanced into the heart of Germany, and annihilated it in the victory of Rossbach. Before another month had passed, he hurried from the Saale to the Oder, and by a yet more signal victory at Leuthen cleared Silesia of the Austrians. The victory of Rossbach was destined to change the fortunes of the world by bringing about the unity of Germany; its immediate effect was to force the French army on the Elbe to fall back on the Rhine. Here Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with twenty thousand English soldiers, held them at bay during the summer, while Frederick, foiled in an attack on Moravia, drove the Russians back on Poland in the battle of Zorndorf. His defeat, however, by the Austrian General Daun at Hochkirch proved the first of a series of terrible misfortunes; and the year 1759 marks the lowest point of his fortunes. A fresh advance of the Russian army forced the King to attack it at Kunersdorf in August, and Frederick's repulse ended in the utter rout of his army. For the moment all seemed lost, for even Berlin lay open to the conqueror. A few days later the surrender of Dresden gave Saxony to the Austrians; and at the close of the year an attempt upon them at Plauen was foiled with terrible loss. But every disaster was retrieved by the indomitable courage and tenacity of the King, and winter found him, as before, master of Silesia and of all Saxony save the ground which Daun's camp covered. The year which marked the lowest point of Frederick's fortunes was the year of

*Frederick's misfortunes.*

Pitt's greatest triumphs, the year of Minden and Quiberon and Quebec. France aimed both at a descent upon England and at the conquest of Hanover, and gathered a naval armament at Brest, while fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie united on the Weser. Ferdinand with less than forty thousand met them on the field of Minden. The French marched along the Weser to the attack, with their flanks protected by that river and a brook which ran into it, and with their cavalry, ten thousand strong, massed in the centre. The six English regiments in Ferdinand's army fronted the French horse, and, mistaking their general's order, marched at once upon them in line, regardless of the batteries on their flank, and rolled back charge after charge with volleys of musketry. In an hour the French centre was utterly broken. "I have seen," said Contades, "what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin!" Nothing but the refusal of Lord George Sackville to complete the victory by a charge of the horse which he headed saved the French from utter rout. As it was, their army again fell back broken on Frankfort and the Rhine. The project of an invasion of England met with like success. Eighteen thousand men lay ready to embark on board the French fleet, when Admiral Hawke came in sight of it at the mouth of Quiberon Bay. The sea was rolling high, and the coast where the French ships lay was so danger-

*Minden, Aug. 1759.*

*Quiberon Nov. 20.*

ous from its shoals and granite reefs that the pilot remonstrated with the English admiral against the project of attack. "You have done your duty in this remonstrance," Hawke coolly replied; "now lay me alongside the French admiral." Two English ships were lost on the shoals, but the French fleet was ruined and the disgrace of Byng's retreat wiped away.

*The conquest of Canada.*

It was not in the Old World only that the year of Minden and Quiberon brought glory to the arms of England. In Europe, Pitt had wisely limited his efforts to the support of Prussia, but across the Atlantic the field was wholly his own, and he had no sooner entered office than the desultory raids, which had hitherto been the only resistance to French aggression, were superseded by a large and comprehensive plan of attack. The sympathies of the colonies were won by an order which gave their provincial officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. They raised at Pitt's call twenty thousand men, and taxed themselves heavily for their support.

*American expeditions.*

Three expeditions were simultaneously directed against the French line—one to the Ohio valley, one against Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, while a third under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The last was brilliantly successful.

*Louisburg taken.*

Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbor, and the whole province of Cape Breton reduced. The American militia supported the British troops in a

vigorous campaign against the forts; and though Montcalm, with a far inferior force, was able to repulse General Abercromby from Ticonderoga, a force from Philadelphia and Virginia, guided and inspired by the courage of George Washington, made itself master of Duquesne. The name of Pittsburg, which was given to their new conquest, still commemorates the enthusiasm of the colonists for the great Minister who first opened to them the West. The next year saw the evacuation of Ticonderoga before the advance of Amherst, and the capture of Fort Niagara after the defeat of an Indian force which marched to its relief. The capture of the three forts was the close of the French effort to bar the advance of the colonists to the valley of the Mississippi, and to place in other than English hands the destinies of North America. But Pitt had resolved, not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether; and while Amherst was breaking through the line of forts, an expedition under General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec. Wolfe had already fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Laffeldt, and had played the first part in the capture of Louisburg. Pitt had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three whom he chose for the crowning exploit of the war, but for a while his sagacity seemed to have failed. No efforts could draw Montcalm from the long

*Duquesne captured and named Pittsburg.*

*Wolfe at Quebec.*

line of inaccessible cliffs which at this point borders the river, and for six weeks Wolfe saw his men wasting away in inactivity while he himself lay prostrate with sickness and despair. At last his resolution was fixed, and in a long line of boats the army dropped down the St. Lawrence to a point at the base of the Heights of Abraham, where a narrow path had been discovered to the summit. Not a voice broke the silence of the night save the voice of Wolfe himself, as he quietly repeated the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard,* remarking as he closed, "I had rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." But his nature was as brave as it was tender; he was the first to leap on shore and to scale the narrow path where no two men could go abreast. His men followed, pulling themselves to the top by the help of bushes and the crags, and at daybreak on the 12th of September the whole army stood in orderly formation before Quebec. Montcalm hastened to attack, though his force, composed chiefly of raw militia, was far inferior in discipline to the English; his onset, however, was met by a steady fire, and at the first English advance his men gave way. Wolfe headed a charge which broke the French line, but a ball pierced his breast in the moment of victory. "They run," cried an officer who held the dying man in his arms—"I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told "The French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his

*Death of Wolfe.*

defeat completed the victory; and the submission of Canada, on the capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760, put an end to the dream of a French empire in America. *France loses Canada.*

Never had England played so great a part in the history of mankind as in the year 1759. It was a year of triumphs in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden, and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French defeat at Quiberon. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," laughed Horace Walpole, "for fear of missing one." But it was not so much in the number as in the importance of its triumphs that the Seven Years' War stood and remains still without a rival. It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany, the revival of its political and intellectual life, the long process of its union under the leadership of Prussia and Prussia's kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, "saw one of the races of the northwest cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonists to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France *Re-creation of Germany.*

had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the foundation of the great republic of the west. Nor were these triumphs less momentous to Britain. The Seven Years' War is a turning-point in the history of the world. Till now the relative weight of the European states had been drawn from their possessions within Europe itself. But from the close of the war it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power, no longer a mere rival of Germany or Russia or France. Mistress of Northern America, the future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above the nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world. The war indeed was hardly ended when a consciousness of the destinies that lay before the English people showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. The Atlantic was dwindling into a mere strait within the British Empire; but beyond it to the westward lay a reach of waters where the British flag was almost unknown. In the year which followed the Peace of Paris two English ships were sent on a cruise of discovery to the Straits of Magellan; three years later Captain Wallis reached the coral reefs of Tahiti; and in 1768 Captain Cook traversed the Pacific from end to end, and wherever he touched, in New Zealand, in Australia, he claimed the soil for the

*Importance of the Seven Years' War.*

*Britain's rise to Empire.*

*Voyages and discoveries.*

English Crown, and opened a new world for the expansion of the English race. Statesmen and people alike felt the change in their country's attitude. In the words of Burke, the Parliament of Britain claimed "an imperial character in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the time, saw in the growth of their vast possessions, the monopoly of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. The trade with America alone was in 1772 nearly equal to what England carried on with the whole world at the beginning of the century. To guard and preserve so vast and lucrative a dominion became from this moment not only the aim of British statesmen but the resolve of the British people.

*The American trade.*

[In 1762, England declares war on Spain; helps Portugal to defeat the Spanish invasion of that kingdom and captures Havana and Manila. Peter III. of Russia is murdered by his wife, Catherine, and the Orloffs, and Catherine is crowned Empress. In 1763, Niebuhr visits Arabia and Persia.]

# PROSECUTION OF JOHN WILKES AND PASSING OF THE STAMP ACT

(A.D. 1763-1766)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

GRENVILLE'S one aim was to enforce the supremacy of Parliament over subject as over king. He therefore struck fiercely at the new force of opinion which had just shown its power in the fall of Bute. The opinion of the country no sooner found itself unrepresented in Parliament than it sought an outlet in the press. In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution, the press had been slow to attain any political influence. Under the first two Georges its progress had been hindered by the absence of great topics for discussion, the worthlessness of the writers, and, above all, the lethargy of the time. It was, in fact, not till the accession of George the Third that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the press into a political power. The nation found in it a

*Progress of the Press.*

court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. The journals became organs for that outburst of popular hatred which drove Lord Bute from office; and in the *North Briton* John Wilkes led the way by denouncing the Cabinet and the Peace with peculiar bitterness, and venturing to attack the hated minister by name. Wilkes was a worthless profligate, but he had a remarkable faculty of enlisting popular sympathy on his side, and by a singular irony of fortune he became the chief instrument in bringing about three of the greatest advances which our Constitution has ever made. He woke the nation to a conviction of the need for Parliamentary reform by his defence of the rights of constituencies against the despotism of the House of Commons. He took the lead in the struggle which put an end to the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings. He was the first to establish the right of the press to discuss public affairs. In his attack on the ministry of Lord Bute, however, he was simply an organ of the general discontent. It was, indeed, his attack which more than all else determined Bute to withdraw from office. But Grenville was of stouter stuff than the court favorite, and his administration was hardly re-formed when he struck at the growing opposition to Parliament by a blow at its leader. In "Number 45," of the *North Briton,* Wilkes had censured the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, and a "general warrant," by the Secretary of State, was issued against the "authors, printers, and pub-

*John Wilkes.*

*"Number 45."*

lishers of this seditious libel." Under this warrant, forty-nine persons were seized for a time; and, in spite of his privilege as a member of Parliament, Wilkes himself was sent to the Tower. The arrest, however, was so utterly illegal that he was at once released by the Court of Common Pleas; but he was immediately prosecuted for libel. While the paper which formed the subject for prosecution was still before the courts of justice, it was condemned by the House of Commons as a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel." The House of Lords at the same time voted a pamphlet, found among Wilkes's papers, to be blasphemous, and advised a prosecution. Wilkes fled to France, and was, in 1764, expelled from the House of Commons. But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." It was soon clear that opinion had been imbittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes; and six years later, the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named "Junius" for his Letter to the King, established the right of the press to criticise the conduct not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself.

*Wilkes expelled.*

The same narrowness of view, the same honesty of purpose, the same obstinacy of temper, were shown by

*Grenville's obstinacy.*

Grenville in a yet more important struggle, a struggle with the American Colonies. Pitt had waged war with characteristic profusion, and he had defrayed the cost of the war by enormous loans. At the time of the Peace of Paris, the public debt stood at a hundred and forty millions. The first need, therefore, which met Bute after the conclusion of the Peace, was that of making provision for the new burdens which the nation had incurred; and as these had been partly incurred in the defence of the American Colonies, it was the general opinion of Englishmen that the Colonies should bear a share of them. In this opinion Bute and the King concurred. But their plans went further than mere taxation. The new minister declared himself resolved on a rigorous execution of the Navigation laws, laws by which a monopoly of American trade was secured to the mother country, on the raising of a revenue within the Colonies for the discharge of the debt, and, above all, on impressing upon the colonists a sense of their dependence upon Britain. The direct trade between America and the French or Spanish West Indian islands had hitherto been fettered by prohibitory duties, but these had been easily evaded by a general system of smuggling. The duties were now reduced, but the reduced duties were rigorously exacted, and a considerable naval force was despatched to the American coast with a view of suppressing the clandestine trade with the foreigner. The revenue which was expected from this measure was to be supplemented by

*The Navigation laws.*



THE CORONATION OF CATHERINE II. AS EMPRESS OF RUSSIA (*Page* 211)

FROM THE PAINTING BY S. TORELLI

an internal Stamp Tax, a tax on all legal documents issued within the Colonies. The plans of Bute had fallen to the ground on his retirement from office. But Grenville had fully concurred in the financial part, at least, of Bute's designs; and, now that he found himself at the head of a strong administration, he proceeded to carry out the plans which had been devised for the purpose of raising both an external and an internal revenue from America. One of his first steps was to suppress, by a rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws, the contraband trade which had grown up between American ports and the adjacent Spanish islands. Harsh and unwise as these measures seemed, the colonists owned their legality; and their resentment only showed itself in a pledge to use no British manufactures till the restrictions were relaxed. But the next scheme of the Minister—his proposal to introduce internal taxation within the bounds of the Colonies themselves by reviving the project of an excise or stamp duty, which Walpole's good sense had rejected—was of another order from his schemes for suppressing the contraband traffic. Unlike the system of the Navigation Acts, it was a gigantic change in the whole actual relations of England and its Colonies. They met it, therefore, in another spirit. Taxation and representation, they asserted, went hand in hand. America had no representatives in the British Parliament. The representatives of the colonists met in their own colonial assemblies, and all save the Pennsylvanians protested

*The Stamp Act.*

*Contraband trade.*

*Representation and taxation.*

strongly against the interference of Parliament with their right of self-taxation. Massachusetts marked accurately the position she took. "Prohibitions of trade are neither equitable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If that is once broken down, all is lost." The distinction was accepted by the assembly of every colony; and it was with their protest that they despatched Benjamin Franklin, who had risen from his position of a working printer, in Philadelphia, to high repute among scientific discoverers, as their agent to England. In England, however, Franklin found few who recognized the distinction which the colonists had drawn. Grenville had no mind to change his plans without an assurance, which Franklin could not give, of a union of the Colonies to tax themselves; and the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses with less opposition than a turnpike bill.

*Franklin's mission, 1765.*

The Stamp Act was hardly passed when an insult offered to the Princess Dowager, by the exclusion of her name from a Regency Act, brought to a head the quarrel which had long been growing between the ministry and the King. George again offered power to William Pitt. But Pitt stood absolutely alone. The one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a Cabinet; and he felt himself too weak, when thus deserted, to hold his ground in any ministerial combination with the Whigs. The King turned for help to the main body of

the Whigs, now headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. The weakness of the ministry which Rockingham formed in July, 1765, was seen in its slowness to deal with American affairs. Franklin had seen no other course for the Colonies, when the obnoxious Acts were passed, but that of submission. But submission was the last thing the colonists dreamed of. Everywhere through New England riots broke out on the news of the arrival of the stamped paper; and the frightened collectors resigned their posts. Northern and Southern States were drawn together by the new danger. The assembly of Virginia was the first to formally deny the right of the British Parliament to meddle with internal taxation, and to demand the repeal of the acts. Massachusetts not only adopted the denial and the demand as its own, but proposed a Congress of delegates from all the colonial assemblies to provide for common and united action; and in October, 1765, this Congress met to repeat the protest and petition of Virginia. The news of its assembly reached England at the end of the year, and at once called Pitt to the front when the Houses met in the spring of 1766. As a minister, he had long since rejected a similar scheme for taxing the colonies. He had been ill and absent from Parliament when the Stamp Act was passed, but he adopted to the full the constitutional claim of America. He gloried in a resistance which was denounced in Parliament as rebellion. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the

*The Rockingham Ministry.*

*The Colonial Congress.*

Colonies. . . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

*France surrenders American possessions.*

[In 1763, France surrenders nearly all her American possessions, and the Mississippi is fixed as the western boundary. In 1765, Blackstone publishes his *Commentaries* on the laws of England. In 1767, Clive leaves India, which falls into confusion until Warren Hastings arrives. In 1768, France buys Corsica from Genoa. Maria Theresa gives up all claim to Silesia, the Pope confiscates Parma. Civil war breaks out in Poland, and war between Turkey and Russia.]

# COOK'S AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERIES

## (A.D. 1768-1771)

ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM

IN spite of the numerous voyages that had been made to the great southern continent, our knowledge of the coast of Terra Australis was very incomplete and very limited, when Captain James Cook sailed on his first voyage of discovery in 1768. The western coast of Australia was then known as New Holland; it had been more frequently sighted and visited by navigators than any other part of the continent. The east coast was entirely unknown. New Guinea to the north, and Van Diemen's Land to the south, were believed to be portions of one and the same continent, the latter being supposed to be a prolongation of the land discovered by Pieter Nuyts to the southward. Even the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros was, if in existence, supposed to belong to the mainland. All was vagueness, uncertainty, and conjecture. It remained for our great navigator, Cook, to lift the veil of doubt and uncertainty which

*Vague knowledge of Australia.*

still enshrouded the great southern land, and by his ability and energy to give to his country a continent that in riches and importance is now second to no empire in the world.

*Cook's first voyage.*

Captain Cook sailed from England in the *Endeavour* on the 26th of August, 1768; the principal object of the expedition which he commanded being a voyage to the South Sea for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. This being accomplished, the *Endeavour* was ordered to prosecute discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and make a more accurate examination of the Pacific Ocean. Cook was accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks, afterward president of the Royal Society, a great scholar and an ardent investigator in the pursuit of science, and by Dr. Solander, an accomplished botanist and naturalist.

*The Society Islands.*

The transit of Venus having been satisfactorily observed on the 3d of June, 1769, at Otaheite, the *Endeavour,* after a stay of three months at that island, sailed on the 13th of the following month, and after cruising for a short time among the islands which were named by Cook the Society Group, a course was shaped for New Zealand, which was sighted at daylight on October the 6th. On the 8th the ship dropped anchor in a large bay, which received the name of Poverty Bay, on account of the inhospitable, not to say hostile, reception the expedition met with at the hands of the natives. Some months were profitably employed in the explora-

tion of the coast of this little known land, during which New Zealand was completely circumnavigated, and found to consist of two large islands; after much valuable and important geographical work had been accomplished, the *Endeavour* sailed to the westward, bent on further exploration and research. On the morning of the 18th of April, 1770, land was observed by the first lieutenant, and was named, after him, Point Hicks. Thence Captain Cook sailed northward, and rounding the southeast point of Australia, which he called Cape Howe, he anchored in a safe and capacious bayou on the 26th, which was subsequently named Botany Bay, in consequence of the great variety and richness of the plants collected there by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. Here they remained for ten days, engaged in scientific pursuits and in endeavoring to conciliate the natives, many of whom were induced to come down to the ship.

*Botany Bay.*

Sailing on the 6th of May, they proceeded to the northward, discovering and naming Port Jackson, on the shores of which is now situated the important city of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. Moreton Bay, at the head of which now stands Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, was also discovered and named.

*New South Wales.*

During this voyage, Captain Cook sailed along the entire eastern coast of Australia, which he named New South Wales, taking possession of it in the name of his Majesty King George the Third. Hitherto the *Endeavour* had been safely navigated among dangerous shoals

*The* Endeavour *on the rocks.*

and hidden rocks, and other unknown dangers, with a surprising immunity from disaster. This exemption from casualties was, however, not to last; for at about eleven o'clock on the night of the 10th of June, 1770, the ship struck heavily on a rock, and remained immovable. The situation was certainly not a pleasant one, for the loss of the ship meant the possible loss of all on board, as the chances of saving themselves by their boats alone, so many thousands of miles from any place where they could hope to obtain relief and succor, were very small indeed. Everything was, however, done that skill and experience could suggest in order to extricate the ship from her perilous condition, but for some time without avail, and she continued to beat with great violence on the rocks upon which she had struck. By the dim light of the moon that prevailed, they could see portions of the false keel, and other parts of the bottom of their good ship, that had been torn and wrenched off by the sharp, jagged edges of the rocks, floating around them, and it seemed extremely improbable that she would hold together for another tide. Fortunately there was but little wind, and as the tide fell, the ship settled down more quietly in her rocky cradle. Every effort was then made

*Lightening the ship.*

to lighten her; six guns were thrown overboard, as well as a quantity of iron and stone ballast and other stores, and the water was also started. When daylight broke, they found the ship was making a considerable amount of water, which the pumps were unable to control. The

great fear now was that as the tide rose, the ship might float off, and immediately sink in deeper water; but, to their great surprise, and no less gratification, they found when she floated, that not only were their fears groundless, but also that the pumps gained considerably on the leak. In order to obtain this advantage, however, the men had to remain unceasingly at work. The ship was then brought in close to the land, and anchored in a snug little harbor at the mouth of a river, which received the name of Endeavour River, and here she was thoroughly overhauled and repaired. The point of land in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the disaster was called Point Tribulation, to commemorate the unfortunate event. It was during the time the ship was in Endeavour River that kangaroos were first seen, killed, and eaten. The repairs being effected, a start was once more made; and sailing through Torres Strait, though not without experiencing many dangers and no few difficulties, Cook returned to England, passing the Lizard on the 10th of June, 1771, thus completing his first voyage of discovery in the South Seas, during which time he circumnavigated New Zealand, sailed along the entire east coast of Australia, and performed altogether one of the most remarkable voyages on record.

*A happy deliverance.*

*The first kangaroos.*

*First voyage ended.*

# THE INVENTION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE

## (A.D. 1768)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IN the year 1757, over the door of a staircase opening from the quadrangle of the college of Glasgow, was exhibited a board, inscribed "James Watt, Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University." In a room of small dimensions sat a young man in his twenty-first year, filing and polishing quadrants and sectors, to sell for his livelihood. He had come in his eighteenth year from his paternal home, at Greenock, where his father carried on the business of a ship-chandler, to endeavor to learn the art of a mathematical-instrument maker; but he could find no one in Glasgow capable of instructing him. By the advice of a kinsman of his mother, who was a Professor in the Glasgow University, he went to London with the same object. For a year he worked with intense application in a shop in Finch Lane, Cornhill; but his health failing, he returned to Glasgow, having become a skilful mechanic, and possessing

*Watt's early struggles.*

the far greater advantage of a sound mathematical education. He endeavored to establish a shop in that city. The worshipful Company of Hammermen,—in that spirit of exclusiveness which the lapse of a century has scarcely eradicated, where Guilds and Corporations have any remnant of antiquated privileges,—resolved to prevent James Watt exercising his art. He was, however, employed within the precincts of the University to repair some astronomical instruments; and several of the professors took the ingenious young man under their protection, and gave him a workshop within their walls. Here he soon attracted the notice, and received the kind attentions, of men whose names will be held ever in veneration—Adam Smith, Robert Simson, and Joseph Black. To these eminent philosophers even the members of the Company of Hammermen would lowly bow; as they bowed to the magnates of Glasgow, the tobacco lords who walked in scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs apart at the Cross, and to any one of whom no tradesman dared speak till he caught the great man's eye, and was invited by him to come across the street and impart his humble request. Watt had an ardent friend in a college student, John Robison, about the same age with himself, who had also a genius for scientific pursuits. He has recounted that when he first went into Watt's little shop, and expected to see only a workman, he was surprised to find the quadrant-maker his superior in philosophy. But Robison left the University; went to sea as a mid-

*Guild opposition.*

*Robison's tribute*

shipman; and was in the boat on the St. Lawrence with Wolfe, on the morning on which the Heights of Abraham were scaled. The friends had conversed about steam-engines before Robison's departure. When the young man returned, in 1763,—having been employed by the Admiralty to take charge of Harrison's chronometer on a voyage to Jamaica, to test its sufficiency for determining the longitude of a ship at sea,—he found that his old companion, in the college workshop, had been making more rapid advances in scientific attainments than himself; and had been long engaged in trying experiments in the construction of a steam-engine, upon principles different from that in common use. He had lighted upon the same principle as that now employed in a high-pressure engine. In that year, of 1763, a small model of Newcomen's engine was put into the charge of Watt to repair. The imperfections of that invention, known as "the atmospheric engine," were evident to him; and he long labored unsuccessfully to discover how its defects could be remedied. The radical defect was, that three times as much heat as was necessary for the action of the machine was lost. If one-fourth of the heat could generate an equal amount of available steam, the saving of fuel alone would ensure the adoption of an engine constructed to produce such an important economy. Newcomen's machine was used in draining mines, in raising water to turn water-wheels, and in blowing furnaces for iron-smelting. But its expense of working was

*The "Atmospheric engine."*

enormous. Its construction was clumsy and imperfect. We may imagine Adam Smith telling Watt the story which he has so well told in the *Wealth of Nations,* of the first fire-engine; in which "a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended;" and how the boy, wanting to play, found out that "by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance." Improvements such as this had been accomplished by accidental observation. What improvements might not be effected by careful examination, grounded upon scientific knowledge? The experimental philosopher was still working in the dark, when he discovered that water converted into steam would heat about six times its own weight of water at 47° or 48° to 212°. He mentioned this fact to Dr. Black, who then explained to him his doctrine of latent heat, with which Watt had been previously unacquainted. He says of himself, that "he stumbled upon one of the material facts by which that beautiful theory is supported." Among the principal features of scientific progress at this period, Sir John Herschel includes "the development of the doctrine of latent heat by Black, with its train of important consequences, including the scientific theory of the steam-engine." The ceaseless preparatory labor of thought was now to produce its results. In a solitary

*Adam Smith's story.*

*Black's theory of latent heat.*

*Sir John Herschel on Black's theory.*

walk, Watt solved the great problem upon which he had been so long intent. The necessity of working for his bread, while he eagerly desired to bring his ideas into a practical shape, was still forced upon him. But he saw his way. The invention was complete in his mind. To have a model constructed was a work of great difficulty. He had no capital to employ in engaging better workmen than the blacksmiths and tinmen of Glasgow. He struggled against these difficulties till he found a zealous and powerful ally in Dr. Roebuck. At length, in May, 1768, Watt had the happiness of congratulating his friend on the achievements of their mutual hopes: "I sincerely wish you joy of this successful result, and hope it will make you some return for the obligations I ever will remain under to you."

*Dr. Roebuck's aid.*

It was agreed that a patent should be taken out; and Watt repaired to London to accomplish this business. On his way thither he had an interview, at Birmingham, with Matthew Boulton, who desired to join in the speculation. This eminent manufacturer, in every quality of sterling integrity, of generous feelings, of skill in organization, of prudent enterprise, was worthy of being the associate of a man of genius like Watt, who was timid, and sometimes desponding. Their partnership was, unfortunately, deferred till 1773, for Roebuck would not admit Boulton to a share of the patent, except upon terms to which the prosperous and ingenious proprietor of the works at Soho could not agree. Watt, meanwhile,

*Watt meets Boulton.*

*Roebuck sells out.*

had to maintain himself by the superintendence of several canals then in course of construction. The employment was disagreeable to him. He had no advantage from working his patent, for his partner, Roebuck, was engaged in too many losing undertakings to advance more capital. At length that partner, in whose misfortune Watt deeply sympathized, agreed to sell his property in the patent to Boulton. In 1774, Watt went to Birmingham to superintend the construction of his machines; and he wrote to his father, "The fire-engine I have invented is now going, and answers much better than any other that has yet been made." There was very soon a change in the character of Boulton's manufactory. Dr. Johnson kept a Diary of a tour in Wales, in 1774. On the 20th of September is this entry: "We went to Boulton's, who, with great civility, led us through his shops. I could not distinctly see his enginery—Twelve dozen of buttons for three shillings—Spoons struck at once." In 1776, Johnson and Boswell made an excursion to Oxford, and also saw Birmingham, of which Boswell has this record: "Mr. Hector was so good as to accompany me to see the great works of Mr. Boulton, at a place which he has called Soho, about two miles from Birmingham, which the very ingenious proprietor showed me himself to the best advantage. I wished Johnson had been with us; for it was a scene which I should have been glad to contemplate by his light. The vastness and the contriv-

*Watt goes to Birmingham.*

*Boulton's works.*

ance of some of the machinery would have matched his mighty mind. I shall never forget Mr. Boulton's expression to me,—'I sell here, sir, what all the world desires to have—Power!' "

*Establishment of the steam-engine.*

It is unnecessary, for our purpose, that we should pursue the history of the final establishment of the steam-engine of Watt to be the great operative power of the larger industries of Britain. It quickly superseded Newcomen's machines in draining the Cornish tin and copper mines. It multiplied cotton-mills in the towns of Lancashire and of Scotland, without reference to the previous necessity of choosing localities on the banks of the Irwell or the Derwent, the Tweed or the Clyde. It was blowing the iron furnaces of Dudley, and hammering steel at Sheffield. It was forging anchors and impelling block-machinery at Portsmouth. Yet it was ten years before Boulton and Watt derived any profit from the discovery. They had to struggle, in the first instance, against the common prejudice which attaches to every new invention. All the business sagacity of Boulton was necessary to encourage its use by the most moderate price; or by stipulating only for a royalty upon the amount of fuel which it saved, charging nothing for the engine. The partners had to contend, in actions at law, against unscrupulous pirates. But Parliament, in 1775, had granted an extension of the patent, and the reward to the inventor and his admirable associate would come in time.

*Prejudice and piracy.*

They would be repaid, however tardily, by the pecuniary fruits of their skill and perseverance, before the invention was thrown open to the world. But even before that period what mighty effects had been produced upon British industry by this crowning triumph of an enterprising age! Without its aid the energy of the people had more than counterbalanced the waste of the national resources by an absolute government in a foolish and unjust war. The steam-engine of the "Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University of Glasgow" gave a new impulse to the same energy in another war against a gigantic military despotism, wielded by a man originally as humble as himself—a student of the Military School of Brienne. Captain Sword and Captain Steam were to engage in a struggle not less arduous than that of "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." The one was to lay prosperous cities in ashes; the other was to build up new cities in desolate places. The one was to close the havens of ancient commerce; the other was to freight ships with products of such surpassing excellence and cheapness, that no tyrannous edicts could exclude them from oppressed nations. The one was to derange every effort of Continental industry; the other was to harmonize every form of British labor and invention, by lending to each an intensity and a concentration previously unknown. The one was to attempt the subjugation of the intellect by brute force; the other was to complete "the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter":

*Captain Sword and Captain Steam.*

*The value of Watt's steam-engine.*

"Engine of Watt! unrivall'd is thy sway.
Compared with thine, what is the tyrant's power?
His might destroys, while thine creates and saves.
Thy triumphs live and grow, like fruit and flower,
But his are writ in blood, and read on graves." [1]

*Letters of Junius.*

[In 1769, the Letters of Junius bitterly attack the English King and ministry. Russia defeats the Turks and occupies Moldavia and Bucharest. Portugal loses its last foothold in Morocco. Wedgwood opens potteries in Staffordshire. In 1770, Struensee attains supreme power in Denmark by the support of the Queen and introduces many reforms.]

[1] Elliott—*Steam at Sheffield.*

# PARTITION OF POLAND

## (A.D. 1770-1777)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

FRANCE obtained the island of Corsica, hitherto the discontented possession of the Republic of Genoa. After French troops had several times assisted to quell revolts, the Genoese power finally sold the isle to Louis XV., but the islanders struggled hard for independence under their leader, Pasquale Paoli, and there was a seven years' war before they were reduced, and he took refuge in England. The most important consequence of this acquisition was that a certain obscure Corsican family, named Buonaparte, were thus attached to the fortunes of France.

*Corsica sold to Louis XV.*

Choiseul drew the alliance with Austria closer by a marriage between the young Dauphin and Marie Antoinette, the youngest daughter of Maria Theresa, a lovely, engaging, volatile girl of fourteen, full of high spirits, beneath which were sound principles to come to her help in time of need.

The marriage of the Dauphin was the last negotiation

*Marriage of the Dauphin.*

conducted by Choiseul. The King was rendered jealous of him by being told that he consulted him too little, sent him into exile to his own estates, and took the Duc d'Aiguillon and the Chancellor Maupéou as his advisers. Choiseul had always been attentive to the affairs of Poland, not only because the royal family were nearly connected with it, but because he was convinced that the unruly Sclavonic kingdom was a valuable check upon the growing power of Russia and of Prussia. His fall, therefore, smoothed the way for the designs that were being secretly matured between Frederick and Catherine, for committing one of the most wicked acts of aggression perpetrated in all modern times.

*Prussia and Russia in alliance.*

Frederick sent his brother Heinrich to confer with Catherine at Petersburg, where he was entertained with the utmost splendor, and all the Czaritza's improvements were displayed to him. The court was very unlike that of Berlin, where a stern, plain, heathen sort of morality prevailed, while at Petersburg the most scandalous profligacy was hardly regarded as matter of shame; and yet, for the sake of gratifying the people, the Czaritza made an outward profession of religion. She showed how, with the most depraved conduct, there can yet be a strong intellect, great taste for art and literature, and a clear-sighted desire to improve and instruct others. The

*Catherine's magnificence.*

designs of Peter the Great were carried out by her, while her palace was the scene of almost Eastern magnificence and luxury. She displayed all her splendors before Prince

Heinrich, but throughout he preserved the most imperturbable gravity, even when at a masquerade, a lively Frenchman appeared before him as a green parrot, fluttering, hopping, and chattering, and finally, calling out to his face, "Henri! Henri!"

In private Heinrich accomplished his mission, and it was agreed that Poland should be divided between the Czaritza and the King. "I will undertake to frighten Turkey, and to flatter England," said Catherine. "You must buy over Austria that she may amuse France."

*Catherine attacks Turkey.*

The frightening of Turkey was done on a large scale. Mustafa III. had declared war against Russia, and Catherine attacked him at once by land and sea. She had paid great attention to her navy, into which she had invited many English officers, and she had a large fleet both at Cronstadt and Archangel. This she caused to sail round into the Mediterranean, and attack the Turks in the Archipelago, where she had a secret understanding with many of the Greek Christians of the isles. Many of the islands, and some of the Peloponnesian cities, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the Turkish fleet, coming out to oppose them, was defeated near the isle of Scio, and chased into the bay of Tchesme, where, by a gallant exploit of the English Vice-Admiral Elphinstone, four fire-ships were sent by night among the vessels, crowded into a narrow bay, and burnt the whole Turkish navy, so that the Russian fleet commanded the whole of the Turkish seas, and laid siege to the isle of Lemnos.

*Destruction of the Turkish navy.*

*Gazi Hassan's success.*

Gazi Hassan, an adventurer born on the borders of Persia, who had been a boatman, a chief at Algiers, and a prisoner at Constantinople, but throughout all a devout Mussulman, proposed to the Grand Vizier to attack the Russian fleet with four thousand of the lowest rank at Constantinople, whom he undertook to arm with sword and pistol, and to transport to Lemnos in boats or rafts, without artillery. The Grand Vizier consented, believing the scheme utterly impracticable, but glad to be rid of four thousand of the rabble. However, the gallant Hassan landed unperceived, led his troops upon the enemy with a furious onset, and drove them to their ships in such a panic that they weighed anchor and raised the siege. He was made Capidan Pasha, and so well maintained the honor of his flag, that the Russians were finally obliged to sail back to the Baltic, while the Turks wreaked vengeance in horrible massacres of the unfortunate Greeks of the Morea and the Isles.

*Massacre of the Greeks.*

At the same time, General Romanzoff attacked the Grand Vizier on the banks of the Danube, gained a great victory at Kagul, and received the submission of the three great provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.

These being the close neighbors of Austria, that power was alarmed by the progress of Russia, and offered mediation. This was the time for Frederick to play his part. He had to deal with Joseph II., over whom his ascendency of character had gained great influence. Joseph

admired him so enthusiastically that, under the name of Count Falkenstein, he had come to Neisse, in Silesia, to pay him a visit, and had said to him, "Silesia no longer exists for the house of Austria." So intimate had they become that Frederick even asked Joseph how his mother had approved of his opinions, to which he answered that she blamed and pitied him, but quite maternally, and trusting that he would change. He termed Frederick "the King, my Master"; and Frederick had his palace of Sans Souci hung with his portraits, calling him a young man of whom he could not see too much. As at this first meeting Frederick dressed himself and his suite in the white Austrian uniform, lest their own might excite unpleasant reminiscences; when they met the next year at Neustadt, Joseph and his train came in the blue of Prussia, saying, "Here are a troop of recruits for your Majesty."

*Joseph's admiration of Frederick.*

At this interview, Joseph was drawn into the nefarious scheme, on the promise of a third part of the spoil; but the Empress Queen, on hearing of it, protested strongly against the project, but in vain, though she wrote, "When all my lands were invaded, and I knew not where I could in quiet give birth to my child, I firmly relied on my own good right, and on the help of God. Now, when public right cries out to Heaven against us, and when against us are justice and sound reason, I own that never in my whole life did I feel so anxious, and that I am ashamed to let myself be seen. What an example

*Joseph favors partition of Poland.*

*Maria Theresa's disapproval.*

we shall set the whole world if for a wretched piece of Poland we give up honor and fair fame! I plainly perceive that I stand alone, and am no longer *en vigueur,* therefore I let things take their course, though not without the greatest grief."

To her objections, Frederick's sneering remark was, "I would as soon undertake to write the Jewish history in madrigals as to make three sovereigns agree, especially when two of them are women."

*The treaty.*

The treaty then was made for dividing Poland: giving Austria the Lordship of Zips, which was said once to have belonged to Hungary; to Prussia, a district that had once been under the Teutonic Knights; and to Russia, all Livonia, the district from the Beresina to the Niemen. On the edge of the copy of the treaty, the Empress Queen wrote, *"Placet,* because so many great and learned men will have it so; but after I am dead and gone, people will see the consequences of thus breaking through all that has hitherto been held holy and just. M. Th."

In vain, she protested. The miserable kingdom, divided against itself, was in a state both to deserve and invite the spoiler. Stanislaus and his Diet had been quarrelling ever since his election, chiefly on account of the disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants, or persons of the Greek Church. The Russian power, to which Stanislaus was devoted, was exercised in favor of

*Polish dissensions.*

the Dissidents, as they were called, and this gave great offence to the other party.

In 1771, as King Stanislaus was being driven through the outskirts of Warsaw, at ten o'clock at night, he was attacked by a body of conspirators, who put his attendants to flight, wounded him, and dragged him into the forests; but they seem not to have known what to do next; they tore off the diamond star and crosses from his coat, and then dispersed in small parties through the woods, till the King, being left alone with one man, named Kosinski, persuaded him to repent of the outrage, and to conduct him to a mill, whence he safely returned to his capital.

*Warsaw occupied by Russia.*

This attack gave the Czaritza a pretext for filling Warsaw with Russian troops, professedly to protect Stanislaus; but the Austrians, fearing to lose the prey, filled Zips likewise with their forces, and, Frederick likewise taking up arms, the three powers sent in their demands to the Diet of Poland.

Danger and misfortune had inspired neither unity nor patriotism. Some of the nobles were bribed by one power, some by another, and all hated and distrusted the King. They disputed and abused each other and the King, till, gathering dignity from his extremity, Stanislaus threw his hat angrily on the ground, saying, "Gentlemen, I am weary of hearkening to your disputes. To yourselves alone you should attribute your misfortunes. For me, if no more territory should be left me than

could be covered by this hat, I should still be your lawful, though unhappy King."

*Distrust of Stanislous*

True as were his words, his connection with Russia was so much distrusted, that there was no attempt to rally round him while yet there might have been time. No help came from elsewhere. England would not break the peace with the continent even to hinder this wicked injustice, and the protest of France only consisted in a disconsolate exclamation of Louis XV., "If Choiseul were here still, I should not suffer this." Treasure, skill, and spirit were all wanting, and so far from aiding others, the French monarchy was drifting on toward ruin.

*The Polish Diet yields.*

The helpless and distracted Polish Diet yielded, and the once extensive kingdom was reduced to a mere shred, while even that poor remnant was tyrannized over by Catherine, whose ambassador took every occasion of showing that he looked on Stanislaus rather as an inferior than a sovereign. The worst features of the wretched old constitution were forced upon the Diet, and they were obliged to enact a law against ever again electing a foreign prince, since their oppressors dreaded their being raised up by any external influence.

*Better condition of the Prussian Poles.*

The Poles who fell under Prussian dominion were much better off than those who were left to themselves, for Frederick set to work vigorously with his improvements—building, cultivating, introducing arts, and raising the condition of the serfs, so that although they

made a great outcry at being reformed against their will, their happiness was in the end much increased.

[In 1772, Gustavus of Sweden revokes the constitution and makes himself an absolute monarch and ends the factions of Hats and Caps. The King of Denmark arrests his Queen and Struensee; the latter is executed. Warren Hastings goes to Bengal as governor. Captain Cook sails to explore the Southern Continent and discovers New Caledonia. In 1773, the Society of Jesus is abolished, but continues to exist in Russia and Prussia. A serious rebellion in Russia hinders progress against Turkey.]

*Warren Hastings in Bengal.*

# DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR

## (A.D. 1773)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IT was Sunday, the 28th of November, 1773, when there sailed into Boston Harbor the English merchant-ship *Dartmouth,* laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company. The Act of Parliament which allowed the Treasury to license vessels to export the teas of the Company to the American colonies, free of duty, was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. Samuel Adams, in the *Boston Gazette,* roused again that feeling of resistance which had partially subsided. The Governor of Massachusetts, in October, wrote to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Colonial Secretary, that Samuel Adams, "who was the first person that openly, and in any public assembly, declared for a total independence," had "obtained such an ascendency as to direct the town of Boston and the House of Representatives, and consequently the Council, just as he pleases." The East India Company

*Arrival of the* Dartmouth.

*Adams stirs up resistance.*

had appointed its consignees in Boston. On the night of the 2d of November, summonses were left at the houses of each of these persons, requiring them to appear on a certain day at Liberty Tree, to resign their commissions; and notices were issued desiring the freemen of Boston and of the neighboring towns to assemble at the same place. The consignees did not appear; but a committee of the Assembly traced them to a warehouse, where they were met to consult. They were required not to sell the teas, but to return them to London by the vessels which might bring them. They refused to comply, and were denounced as enemies to their country. Philadelphia had previously compelled the agents of the Company to resign their appointments. Town meetings were held at Boston, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things, on that Sunday, the 28th of November, the first tea-ship arrived. The New England colonists preserved that strict observance of the Sabbath which their Puritan fathers felt the highest of duties. But it was a work of necessity to impede the landing of the tea; and a committee met twice on that Sunday to concert measures. They obtained a promise from Rotch, the commander of the ship *Dartmouth,* that his vessel should not be entered till the following Tuesday. On Monday, the Committee of all the neighboring towns assembled at Boston; and five thousand persons agreed that the tea should be sent back to the place whence it came. "Throw it overboard," cried one. The consignees, alarmed at this

*Demands on the consignees.*

*Two meetings on Sunday.*

demonstration, declared that they would not send back the teas, but that they would store them. This proposal was received with scorn; and then the consignees agreed that the teas should not be landed. But there was a legal difficulty. If the rest of the cargo were landed, and the tea not landed, the vessel could not be cleared in Boston, and after twenty days was liable to seizure. Two more ships arrived, and anchored by the side of the *Dartmouth*. The people kept watch night and day to prevent any attempt at landing the teas. Thirteen days after the arrival of the *Dartmouth,* the owner was summoned before the Boston Committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. He certainly had not the power; for the passages out of the harbor were guarded by two King's ships, to prevent any vessel going to sea without a license. On the 16th, the revenue officers would have legal authority to take possession of the *Dartmouth*. For three days previous there had been meetings of the Boston Committee; but their journal had only this entry —"No business transacted matter of record."

*Two more ships arrive.*

On the 16th of December, there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the *Dartmouth* was ordered to apply to the Governor for a pass, for his vessel to proceed on her return voyage to London. The Governor was at his country house. Many of the leaders had adjourned to a church, to wait his answer. The night

had come on when Rotch returned, and announced that the Governor had refused him a pass, because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, raised the war-whoop at the porch of the church; went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours. Not a sound was heard but that of breaking open the chests. The people of Boston went to their rest, as if no extraordinary event had occurred.

*The tea is thrown overboard.*

On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English Government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the Lords of the Council, to consider a petition from Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the Governor, and Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor. Dr. Franklin appeared before the Council as agent for Massachusetts. He had obtained possession of some private letters written confidentially several years before, in which Hutchinson and Oliver avowed sentiments opposed to what they considered the licentiousness of the Colonists. These letters Franklin transmitted to the Assembly at Boston, who voted, by a large majority, that the opinions expressed contemplated the establishment of arbitrary power; and they accordingly petitioned for the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The intelligence from Boston of the destruction of the teas was not likely to propitiate the Council. Franklin

*Franklin before the Council.*

was treated with little respect; and Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, assailed him with a torrent of invective, at which the Lords cheered and laughed. Franklin bore the assaults with perfect equanimity; but from that hour he ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and the Colonists. The Council reported that the Petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General. He said to Priestley, who was present at the Council, that he considered the thing for which he had been so insulted as one of the best actions of his life.

*His dismissal.*

The Parliament had met on the 13th of January. It was the 7th of March when Lord North delivered the King's message relating to "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of the constitution thereof." There was a debate, of which the most remarkable part was, that when Lord North stated that the proper papers should be ready on the following Friday, Thurlow, the Attorney-General, said, loud enough to reach the ear of the minister, "I never heard anything so impudent; he has no plan yet ready." The one plan which first presented itself—the most unfortunate of all plans—is exhibited in a note of the King to Lord North, dated the 4th of February: "Gen. Gage, though just returned

*Government plans.*

from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments, sent to Boston, will, he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence." On the 14th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for removing the Custom House from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any lading-place within the harbor of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the Lords was quickly adopted. Chatham suggested, in a letter to Shelburne, that reparation ought first to be demanded and refused before such a bill could be called just. The letter of Chatham, in which he makes this suggestion, is that of a great statesman, exhibiting the sound qualities of his mind perhaps even more clearly than his impassioned oratory: "The whole of this unhappy business is beset with dangers of the most complicated and lasting nature; and the point of true wisdom for the mother country seems to be in such nice and exact limits (accurately distinguished, and embraced, with a large and generous moderation of spirit), as narrow, short-sighted counsels of state, or over-heated popular debates, are not likely to hit. Perhaps a fatal desire to take

*The Boston Port Bill.*

*Chatham's opposition.*

advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans in general, has taken possession of the heart of government."

*Coercive measures.*

In the "heart of government" there was no place for conciliation. The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. "I propose," he said, "in this Bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government." The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the Charter granted to the province by William III. The council was to be appointed by the Crown; the magistrates were to be nominated by the Governor. This Bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third Bill enacted, that during the next three years, the Governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that Colony, send him for trial in another Colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the Colonies. The object of the Bill was distinctly stated by Lord North—"Unless such a bill should pass into a law the executive power will be unwilling to act, thinking they will not have a fair trial without it." Colonel Barré strongly remonstrated against such a measure. The Bill was to protect the military power in any future encounters with the people. The King rejoices "in

*Star Chamber methods.*

the feebleness and futility of opposition." The British people were not allowed to be free judges of the great question at issue. On the discussion of the Bostonian Bills, Walpole says, "The doors of both Houses were carefully locked—a symptom of the spirit with which they were dictated." Perhaps if the words of Edmund Burke had gone forth to the world hot from his lips, instead of oozing out in a pamphlet, the people might have thought seriously of the crisis which called forth his eloquent philosophy. Lord Carmarthen, as Walpole records, produced a sensation on his first appearance in the House of Commons. The young Lord's speech prompted one of the most splendid manifestations of Burke's genius: "A noble lord who spoke some time ago is full of the fire of ingenuous youth; and when he has modelled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either house. He has said that the Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent?

*Burke's speech.*

He says, if they are not free in their present state, England is not free; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are 'our children'; but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinder our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a

sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the Colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for their strength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?"

*Chatham supports the colonists.*

The dangers of the country called forth Chatham from his retirement. Walpole describes him making his appearance in the House of Lords, on the 26th of May: "Lord Chatham, who was a comedian even to his dress, to excuse his late absence by visible tokens of the gout, had his legs wrapped in black velvet boots, and, as if in mourning for the King of France, he leaned on a crutch covered with black likewise." Walpole says, "He made a long feeble harangue." There are portions of the harangue which throw a doubt upon the taste or candor of the journalist.

*Spirit of the New Englanders.*

The spirit of the New Englanders took the same course of thought as that of the first orator of the mother country. In proposing a General Congress of the several Houses of Assembly, John Hancock exclaimed, "Remember from whom you sprang." This was said on the 5th of March—two days before Lord North had delivered to Parliament the Royal Message which was the prelude to the measures which the British Government

believed would ensure the submission of the Colonists. The people of Massachusetts, in their proceedings of the 16th of December, "had passed the river and cut away the bridge." Lord Mansfield called upon the Peers to delay not in carrying the Boston Port Bill: "Pass this Act, and you will have crossed the Rubicon." Before the men of Massachusetts knew of the severities that were hanging over them, the most violent of their leaders, Samuel Adams, had officially drawn up instructions for Franklin, the agent for the Colony, which concluded with these words: "Their old good-will and affection for the parent country are not totally lost. If she returns to her former moderation and good-humor, their affection will revive. They wish for nothing more than a permanent union with her upon the condition of equal liberty. This is all they have been contending for; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them." The same language was held in 1774 by George Washington.

*Colonial Tories.*

But it must not be assumed that the universal opinion of the colonial communities was that of Samuel Adams or John Hancock, or even of George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. There was a large party in every province who were avowed Royalists; and who gradually acquired the name of Tories. They were not wanting in encouragement from England. They had the support of a preponderating majority in Parliament, which sanguine persons thought would overawe the malcontents. "Nothing can be more calculated," writes the King to

Lord North, "to bring the Americans to a due submission than the very handsome majority that at the outset appears in both Houses." This was written on the 22d of January, 1775, a new Parliament having met on the previous 29th of November. The American Royalists would not lack private instigations from individuals of eminence in England, to oppose their rebellious countrymen. The conversational opinions of the famous Dr. Johnson might reach them, even before they read his pamphlet, *Taxation no Tyranny*. They might be told that Edward Gibbon, of rising literary reputation, held that the right was on the side of the mother country. The future great historian was returned to Parliament in 1774, and was prepared to speak on the American question, if he could have overcome "timidity fortified by pride." Whatever may be now the prevailing sentiment upon the colonial quarrel, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that the controversy was one that involved great principles, and called forth the highest energies of great intellects. On either side of the Atlantic was manifested the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chatham, in 1775, paid a deserved tribute to the qualities displayed in the first American Congress: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America—when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom—you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—(I have read Thucydides, and

*Taxation no Tyranny.*

*Chatham's tribute.*

have studied and admired the master-states of the world)—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

*Differences of opinion.*

The differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. The fears of the timid, the hopes of the loyal, were opposed to the advocates of resistance, and might have prevailed to avert the notion of independence. In an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America.

*General Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts.*

The ministry after passing their coercive Bills had determined to send out General Gage to supersede Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts, and to be Commander-in-Chief in the Colonies. He would have to act upon a system distinctly opposed to the old chartered system of free local government. He undervalued, as we have seen, the resistance which was to be brought against him, and relied too absolutely upon "four regiments." His appointment was not disagreeable to the New Englanders. He had lived among them, and had honorably executed the military authority with which he had been

previously intrusted. In an unhappy hour he arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. A vessel which came there before him brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill. When Gage came into the harbor, the people were holding a meeting to discuss that Act of the British Legislature which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world—which doomed their merchants and all dependent upon them to absolute ruin. There was but one feeling. The meeting entered into resolutions, to which they invited the co-operation of the other Colonies, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the West Indies, until the Act was repealed. Copies of the Act were everywhere circulated, printed with a black border. But there was no violence. The new Governor was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honors. General Gage gave the Assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the Act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was getting up, the Governor suddenly adjourned the Assembly. He was asked to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting. He refused. In Virginia the House of Burgesses appointed the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, to avert the calamity of their loss of rights, or the miseries of civil war. They were immediately dissolved. The Assembly of Virginia did not separate without recommending a General Congress. The idea universally spread. Mean-

*His reception.*

while, General Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

*The General Congress.*

The first Congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their President. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. The more earnest party gradually obtained the ascendency over the more timid. They drew up a Declaration of Rights. They passed Resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all exports after the 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the grievances of America should be redressed.

*Address to Great Britain and Canada.*

They published Addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the King. These were the papers that called forth the eulogium of Chatham. The Congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another Congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775.

After the 1st of June the irremediable conflict between the Governor and Representatives of the people soon put an end to the legal course of government. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the Council, that the meeting of the Assembly, which was proposed to take place at

Salem in October, could not be regularly convened. Writs for the election of members had been issued, but were afterward annulled by proclamation. The elections took place. The persons chosen assembled, and styled themselves a Local Congress. A Committee of Safety was appointed. They enrolled militia, called "Minute Men," whose engagement was that they should appear in arms at a minute's notice. They appointed commanders. They provided ammunition. The knowledge of the two Acts of Parliament which had followed that for shutting up the Port of Boston, not only provoked this undisguised resolve to resist to the death among the people of Massachusetts, but called up the same growing determination throughout the vast continent of America.

*The "Minute Men."*

Chatham's conciliatory Bill made some impression upon Lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a Resolution of the House of Commons, that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the King and Parliament, then it might be proper to forbear imposing any tax. This was to attempt to put out a conflagration with a bucket of water.

If the highest efforts of argument could have been availing, the speech of Edmund Burke, on the 22d of March, would have arrested the headlong course of the government. At this moment a Bill was passing both Houses which Burke called "the great penal Bill by

*"The great penal Bill."*

which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America." It was a Bill to prohibit certain Colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain was not ashamed to resort to this petty measure of retaliation against the American non-importation agreements. Burke proposed a series of conciliatory Resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. They were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy-eight. The speech of the great statesman presented a masterly review of the wonderful growth of the American Colonies—their successful industry, their commercial importance to Great Britain. The whole export trade of England, including the colonial trade, was six millions and a half in 1704. The export trade to the Colonies alone was six millions in 1772. These statistical facts were suddenly illumined by a burst of oratory, perhaps unrivalled. Allen, Lord Bathurst, to whom Pope addressed his *Epistle on the Use of Riches*—Bathurst "unspoiled by wealth," the father of the Lord Chancellor of 1775,—was cited by Burke as one that might remember all the stages of the growth of our national prosperity. He was in 1704 "of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things." "Suppose that the angel of that auspicious youth" had opened to him in vision the fortunes of his house in the twelfth year of the third prince of the line of Brunswick: "If amid these bright and happy scenes of

*Trade of the Colonies.*

domestic honor and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him—'Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to all of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by a succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life.' If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day!"

*Marvellous growth.*

The contrarieties of public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland upon the American question were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. Many manufacturing towns petitioned against the coercion Acts, as destructive of the commerce of the country. Other peti-

*Contrarieties of public opinion.*

tions called for an enforcement of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, as the only means of preserving a trade with the Colonies. There were war petitions and peace petitions. Those who signed the war petitions were held to be mere party-men known as Tories. Those who signed the peace petitions were discontented Whigs, or something worse. The Quakers, while they exhorted to peace, maintained the loyalty of all religious denominations in America to the King's person, family and government. The citizens of London, with Wilkes at their head as Lord-Mayor, presented an Address and Remonstrance to the King on the throne, in which they denounced the measures of the government as deliberately intended to establish arbitrary power all over America. The King answered, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he found any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in some of his Colonies in America. From such different points of view did men regard this great argument. As usual in England, the most serious questions had their ludicrous aspect. Caricatures were numerous. One represented America as a struggling female, held down by Lord Mansfield, while Lord North was drenching her with "a strong dose of tea." In another, Britannia is thrown down upon her child America, while Lord North is pumping upon both of them, looking exultingly through his eyeglass. The partisans of the minister struck a medal in his honor.

*London's remonstrance.*

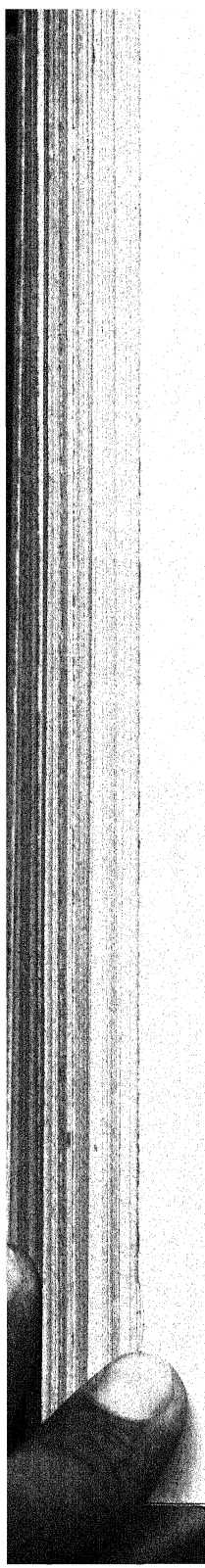
*Divided counsels.*

*Caricatures.*



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL (*Page* 269)

FROM THE PAINTING BY TRUMBULL



The close of 1774 was, in Massachusetts, the silence before the storm. The people were arming. The Provincial Congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations.

*Massachusetts arms.*

On the evening of the 18th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the 10th Foot, marched, by order of Governor Gage, with a body of grenadiers and light infantry, for Concord, with the purpose of destroying all the military stores collected there. "Notwithstanding," writes Lieutenant-Colonel Smith in his despatch, "we marched with the utmost expedition and secrecy, we found the country had intelligence or strong suspicion of our coming, and fired many signal guns, and rung the alarm bells repeatedly; and we were informed, when at Concord, that some cannon had been taken out of town that day; that others, with some stores, had been carried away three days before, which prevented our having an opportunity of destroying so much as might have been expected at our first setting off." Six light infantry companies were despatched to seize two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. They found country people drawn on a green, with arms and accoutrements. The troops advanced, according to the lieutenant-colonel, without any intention of injuring the people; but, nevertheless, they were fired upon, and the soldiers fired again. When the detachment reached Con-

*The embattled farmers.*

*Skirmish at Concord.*

cord, there was a more serious skirmish, with a very considerable body of countrymen. "At Concord," the narrative continues, "we found very few inhabitants in the town; those we met with, both Major Pitcairn and myself took all possible pains to convince that we meant them no injury, and that if they opened their doors when required to search for military stores, not the slightest mischief would be done. We had opportunities of convincing them of our good intentions, but they were sulky, and one of them even struck Major Pitcairn. On our leaving Concord to return to Boston, they began to fire on us from behind walls, ditches, trees, etc., which, as we marched, increased to a very great degree, and continued without the intermission of five minutes altogether, for, I believe, upward of eighteen miles; so that I can't think but it must have been a preconcerted scheme in them to attack the King's troops the first favorable opportunity that offered, otherwise I think they could not, in so short a time as from our marching out, have raised such a numerous body, and for so great a space of ground." The destruction of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith by a large body of infuriated men was averted by the arrival at Lexington of a reinforcement sent out by General Gage. The British continued to retreat before their resolute opponents. They did not reach their quarters till night had fallen—worn out with fatigue, and with a loss of two or three hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. There was

*Retreat of the British.*

no open fight, for the Minute Men were in ambush, and picked off the officers and men of the detachment from their secure hiding among trees and behind stone walls.

*Receipt of the news.*

The news of the affair of Lexington arrived in England at the end of May. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts knew the effect that would be produced upon public opinion in the mother country when it should be learnt that the King's troops had been defeated. The day after the skirmish, this Congress despatched a vessel to England, without freight, for the sole purpose of carrying letters detailing this triumph. Walpole has described the impression produced by the receipt of this intelligence in London—"May 28. Arrived a light sloop, sent by the Americans from Salem, with an account of their having defeated the King's troops." He then gives details of the news received, which seems to have been free from exaggeration. "The advice was immediately dispersed, while the government remained without any intelligence. Stocks immediately fell. The provincials had behaved with the greatest conduct, coolness, and resolution. One circumstance spoke a thorough determination of resistance: the provincials had sent over affidavits of all that had passed, and a colonel of the militia had sworn in an affidavit that he had given his men orders to fire on the King's troops, if the latter attacked them. It was firmness, indeed, to swear to having been the first to begin what the Parliament had named rebellion. Thus was the civil war begun, and a victory

*Fall of stocks.*

the first fruits of it on the side of the Americans, whom Lord Sandwich had had the folly and rashness to proclaim cowards."

*Ticonderoga and Crown Point captured.*

While the provincials of Massachusetts and the troops of General Gage had thus been brought into a collision which had more the character of accident than of preconcerted hostilities, a bold and successful attempt was made in another quarter, which could only be interpreted as a deliberate act of warfare. Forty volunteers, well armed, had set out, at the instigation of some leading men of Connecticut, to form part of an expedition which was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, and Crown Point, a fort on Lake Champlain. If these were taken, the invasion of Canada by the American militia would be greatly facilitated. The Connecticut volunteers were joined on their march by Ethan Allen, who had many volunteers under his command; and by Benedict Arnold, who subsequently obtained a celebrity not the most honorable. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by only forty-four soldiers, under the command of Captain de la Place. On the morning of the 10th of May, the commander was roused in his bed; saw his fort surrounded by several hundred men in arms; and was required to surrender "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The demand was not resisted. Crown Point was also surprised by the same body of adventurers.

*Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold.*

The affair of Lexington was the commencement of

the American war. More decisive encounters very speedily followed between the King's troops and many thousand Americans in arms.

On the day that Ticonderoga fell into the hands of these American partisans, the General Congress assembled for the second time at Philadelphia, and on June 17, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought between 2,500 British under Howe and Pigott, and 1,500 Americans under Prescott. The British loss was about 1,050 and that of the Americans about 450.

[In 1774, the peace of Kutchuks Kainardji brings the war between Russia and Turkey to an end; Russia gains many advantages. In 1775, Turkey gives up Bukovina to Austria. In 1776, Louis XV. holds a Bed of Justice and Necker comes into power. Adam Smith publishes his *Wealth of Nations;* and the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appears. Captain Cook discovers the Sandwich Islands. The English Parliament passes a resolution against the Slave Trade.]

Wealth of Nations *and* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

# THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## (A.D. 1776)

JAMES SCHOULER

WE are to regard the Declaration of Independence as the *Magna Charta* of this New World. Yet it is not from this instrument that the American Union derives its being. In declaring a dissolution of their political connection with Great Britain, the several Colonies theoretically resolved themselves into free and independent States. But union was well understood to accompany independence so as to make it secure; and the preparation of some suitable plan of confederation had been one of the subjects for reference in the famous Lee resolves. Yet men who have resolved to unite divide when it comes to arranging the actual details of union. Articles of Confederation were reported from the committee July 12, 1776; but Congress withheld its sanction till near the close of 1777, when in an amended form the plan went to the States for their separate adoption. As these Articles could

*The* Magna Charta *of the New World.*

*Articles of Confederation.*

not take effect until all of the thirteen had ratified, and something appeared in the plan obnoxious to each one, it is not strange that several more years were wasted in discussion. The United States of America had no existence as a government under a fundamental compact until the spring of 1781, by which time the success of the patriot arms was hardly doubtful. The Union, indeed, had its flag before a fundamental charter, and its army a commander before a flag.

*Their authorship.*

The first draft of the Declaration of Independence and the desk upon which it was composed are religiously preserved. We know how and by whom every joist and rafter was set into our later Constitution. But how the Articles of Confederation were prepared, few ask and none can positively answer; nor has any one claimed to be their author. Its draft, to be sure, was made out by Dickinson, who was prominent in the committee; but much of that committee work must have been cut to order. As a framework of government this plan was no better than a makeshift; an effort to pare off slices of State sovereignty without diminishing the loaf; to circumscribe circumscription; to set centralism in motion with one hand and stop it with the other. That such a union could be, as the scheme professed, perpetual, was impossible.

*Federal authority.*

Under these Articles, as independently of them, the sole functions of Federal authority vested in a Continental Congress, consisting of a single house of dele-

gates, who voted by States, and were annually appointed in such manner as their respective States might direct, receiving their stipend from the State treasury. In such a legislature, which a split Senate of the present day might resemble, the American people found no direct representation. A president of Congress was designated, chiefly for ceremonial duties; while executive functions were administered to some extent by a Committee of States, empowered to sit during the recess. In ordinary course, seven out of thirteen States might thus have directed affairs; but in order to prevent this it was expressly forbidden the United States to engage in war, make treaties, coin money, borrow or appropriate, assign quotas, or even appoint a commander-in-chief of the army, except upon the assent of nine States. This provision, framed in the interest of a minority, might seem like taking the crutches from a lame man.

*General authority.*

The general authority thus conferred upon the United States embraced the concerns of peace and war, foreign intercourse, inclusive of the power to make treaties, the regulations of coins, weights and measures, Indian affairs, and the general post-office.

Congress, responsible for the common debt already incurred, might borrow money and emit bills of credit. Extradition and mutual intercourse to much the same extent as under the ancient New England confederacy were benefits promised the several States by this plan of union. And with the general powers conferred upon Con-

gress they were forbidden to interfere; while at the same time these Articles emphatically reserved to the several confederated States all the powers not expressly delegated.

*Fatal defects.*

In such a scheme of Federal union might be pointed out fatal defects. (1.) The want of sanction, or some compulsory means of enforcing obedience. This charter provided neither executive nor judiciary worth mentioning, and no means whatever of securing the steady operation of the provisions which were most vital to the general welfare. A single member of the confederacy might defy or disregard a constitutional decree of Congress; in which case there was no resort, should persuasion prove futile, but to draw the sword and proclaim civil war. That it might by mere negligence fail to supply its quota of men or money was a necessary and a mischievous consequence. In theory each State would with alacrity fulfil its solemn obligation, else, to punish its stubbornness, all the others would rally to the side of Congress. But in practice, as will presently be shown, the example of State disobedience became contagious, and led rather to a general dereliction of duty instead. (2.) Operation of the fundamental law, in general, not upon citizens and individuals, but upon States or people in the mass. (3.) The large vote requisite in Congress for the passage of all important general measures. Five States could thus lawfully obstruct legislation essential to the interests of the Union, in utter contempt

*State disobedience.*

of the wishes of the other eight and of a manifest public necessity. (4.) The absence of a right to regulate foreign commerce and make duties uniform, as well as to collect those duties. (5.) A virtual omission of all power to alter or amend existing Articles. The power to alter is the safety-valve of every political constitution; since law only scoops the channel for advancing society to run in. Alteration was possible, as these Articles read, if the proposed amendment should be first agreed to in Congress, and afterward confirmed by the legislature of every State. But if, as might likely happen, the interests of a single commonwealth stood in the way of the general change, how was amendment possible? Feeble as was the present league, could two-thirds or even twelve-thirteenths of the States have given validity to one or two new articles, the Convention of 1787 would never have met which framed a new Constitution. Nothing saved America from utter perdition, under the so-called perpetual league, but a *coup de main*. Happily the revolution which superseded the old Articles had the popular sanction and was bloodless; it is to the lasting glory of our people that this alternative was fairly forced upon them before they accepted it.

*Power to alter.*

While these Articles of Confederation were pending, and even earlier, a strong division of sentiment became manifest between the large and small States. Populous and wealthy colonies by comparison, like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, might well have shrunk

*Division of sentiment.*

from an alliance, on terms which sunk them to the same level of representation as Delaware, Georgia, and Rhode Island. History shows, nevertheless, that in a controversy begun before Bunker's Hill was fought, it was the larger States that courted, while the smaller ones were coy. Representation on a popular basis the small States refused from the first to permit; their sister commonwealths, they said, would be influential enough in the general council without it; all were fighting for existence, and what would independence of the King avail themselves if they were to forsake one tyranny for another? Thus was gained one concession from the large States. Another, but of positive and permanent advantage to the Union, Maryland procured, namely: a relinquishment for the common benefit of all State claims to Western territory. Maryland refused to accede to the proposed confederacy until this by 1781 was accomplished.

*Concessions by the large States.*

This era of Federal construction was likewise an era of local reconstruction. Each Colony, acting upon the monition of Congress, had in 1776 adapted itself to the new condition of free and independent States. Colonial charters suggested the idea of a written constitution; and indeed for many years longer Rhode Island and Connecticut continued each to use the royal document as the sole fundamental law. Some State constitutions, hastily prepared, proved very faulty; but that of Massachusetts, the best matured of them, has, with occasional amend-

ment, served the State more than a full century. All were republican in form, but none strictly democratic. In fairly separating the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and erecting a legislature which consisted of two houses, these local constitutions set a pattern in various respects which the United States was yet to follow. Human equality and the government by common consent they generally recognized in express terms. So engrossing had become this work during the last years of the war as to provoke complaint that the men who ought to be saving America were at home serving their own States.

*State constitutions.*



# SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA

## (A.D. 1777)

E. S. CREASY

THE war which rent away the North American colonies from England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, ensured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia now see and feel.

*Significance of Burgoyne's defeat.*

The English had a considerable force in Canada, and in 1776 had completely repulsed an attack which the

Americans had made upon that province. The British ministry resolved to avail themselves, in the next year, of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them, not merely for the purpose of defence, but for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. With this view the army in Canada was largely reinforced. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers, who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson River. The British army from New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations, all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England: and when this was done, it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the South. At any rate, it was believed that, in order to oppose the

*Reinforcement of the British army.*

*Simultaneous movements.*

plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the Royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question, the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen united States must in all human probability have followed, and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it had existed a second year. No European power had as yet come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill will, and was thought to have acquired, at the Treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but, though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

*Plan of the British.*

*England's unpopularity abroad.*

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bonquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time, he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. The army proceeded by water to Crown Point, a fortification which the Americans held

*Burgoyne's manifesto.*

at the northern extremity of the inlet by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. He landed here without opposition; but the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortification about twelve miles from Crown Point, was a more serious matter, and was supposed to be the most critical part of the expedition. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow. The English had been repulsed in an attack on it in the war with the French in 1758 with severe loss. But Burgoyne now invested it with great skill; and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of 3,000 men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, gained several advantages over them, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

*Capture of Ticonderoga.*

The loss of the British in these engagements was trifling. The army moved southward along Lake George to Skenesborough, and thence to Fort Edward, on the Hudson River, the American troops continuing to retire before them.

*The British advance.*

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson River on the 30th of July. Hitherto he had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order, and in the highest spirits, and the peril of the expedition seemed over when once on the bank of the river which

was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the south.

*Firmness of the colonists.*

The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great; but in the midst of their disasters, none of the colonists showed any disposition to submit. The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. Such was their effect. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages.

*Gates sent to command the Americans.*

*Indian atrocities.*

*American recruits.*

While resolute recruits were thus flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached from that province with a mixed force of about 1,000 men and some light field-pieces across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix, which the Americans held. After capturing this, he was to march along the Mohawk River to its confluence with the Hudson, between Saratoga and Albany, where his force and that of Burgoyne were to unite. But, after some successes, St. Leger was obliged to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the enemy. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum, with a large detachment of German troops, at Bennington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need.

*The British are checked.*

*Burgoyne arrives at Saratoga.*

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having, by unremitting exertions, collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed

the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half-way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

*Clinton sails to join Burgoyne.*

Meanwhile Lord Howe, with the bulk of the British army that had lain at New York, had sailed away to the Delaware, and there commenced a campaign against Washington, in which the English general took Philadelphia, and gained other showy but unprofitable successes. But Sir Henry Clinton, a brave and skilful officer, was left with a considerable force at New York, and he undertook the task of moving up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne. Clinton was obliged for this purpose to wait for reinforcements which had been promised from England, and these did not arrive till September. As soon as he received them, Clinton embarked about 3,000 of his men on a flotilla, convoyed by some ships of war under Commander Hotham, and proceeded to force his way up the river.

*Indecisive encounter.*

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and seamed with creeks and water-courses; but, after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a

sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men); and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by field-works and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defences. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York. At last a messenger brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to attack the American forts which barred the passage to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, stated that unless he received assistance before the 10th of October, he would be obliged to retreat to the lakes through want of provisions.

*Defensive works.*

The Indians and the Canadians now began to desert Burgoyne, while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia. And finding the number and spirit of the enemy to increase daily and his own stores of provisions to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and, by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or, at least, of

*Desertions from the British.*

relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

*Opposing forces.*

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6,000 men. The right of his camp was on some high ground a little to the west of the river: thence his intrenchments extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, their line being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified in the centre and the left with redoubts and field-works. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success, and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of 1,500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack.

*Burgoyne advances.*

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention, and led his column to within three-quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The Grenadiers under Major Ackland were drawn up on the left, a corps of Germans in the centre, and the

*Gates also advances.*

English Light Infantry and the 24th regiment on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused a strong force to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left. The Grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along the centre, so as to prevent the Germans from sending any help to the Grenadiers. Burgoyne's right was not yet engaged; but a mass of the enemy were observed advancing from their extreme left, with the evident intention of turning the British right, and cutting off its retreat. The Light Infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this manœuvre, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant Grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces. Arnold now came up with three American regiments, and attacked the right flank of the English double line. Burgoyne's whole force was soon compelled to retreat toward their camp; the left and centre were in complete disorder; but the Light Infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of Burgoyne's column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp, leaving six of their guns in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the

*Burgoyne retreats.*

field; and especially a large proportion of the artillerymen, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet over. The English had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with uncommon fierceness, rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry with the utmost fury. Arnold especially, who on this day appeared maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the intrenchments which was occupied by the Light Infantry under Lord Balcarras. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew toward evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been injured at the assault on Quebec. To his bitter regret, he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack; but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British intrenchments. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the intrenchments on the extreme right, which was defended

*The assault on the camp.*

*Arnold's gallantry.*

*Partial success.*

by the German reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defence of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had, by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of the British, and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night a complete change of position. With great skill, he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing that river and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and, accordingly, the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night toward Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded.

*Burgoyne retires.*

*Famine compels capitulation.*

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and, hemmed in by the enemy who refused an encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate.

At length the 13th of October arrived, and as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to treat of a convention. After various messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that "the troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with honors of war, and the artillery out of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

*Terms of surrender.*

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evening a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his success, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was indeed too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack, if made; and Gates certainly would have made it, if the convention had been broken off.

*Losses of the British.*

Accordingly, on the 17th, the Convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention 5,790 men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and

wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4,689.

*Joy of the Americans.*

Gates, after the victory, immediately despatched Colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall he said, "The whole British army has laid down its arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders. It is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services." Honors and rewards were liberally voted by the Congress to their conquering general and his men; and it would be difficult to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans.

They began to flatter themselves with a still more happy future. No one any longer felt any doubt about their achieving their independence. All hoped, and with good reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. *"There could no longer be any question respecting the future, since there was no longer the risk of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves."*

*Conduct of France.*

The truth of this was soon displayed in the conduct of France. When the news arrived at Paris of the capture

of Ticonderoga, and of the victorious march of Burgoyne toward Albany, events which seemed decisive in favor of the English, instructions had been immediately despatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. The American commissioners at Paris, in their disgust and despair, had almost broken off all negotiations with the French Government; and they even endeavored to open communications with the British ministry. But the British Government, elated with the first success of Burgoyne, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation. But when the news of Saratoga reached Paris, the whole scene was changed. Franklin and his brother commissioners found all their difficulties with the French Government vanish. The time seemed to have arrived for the House of Bourbon to take full revenge for all its humiliations and losses in previous wars. In December a treaty was arranged and formally signed in the February following, by which France acknowledged *the Independent United States of America*. This was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war with England. Spain soon followed France; and before long, Holland took the same course. Largely aided by French fleets and troops, the Americans vigorously maintained the war against the armies which England, in spite of her European foes, continued to

*The news in Paris.*

*France, Spain, and Holland recognize the United States.*

*Independence of the United States recognized by England.*

send across the Atlantic. But the struggle was too unequal to be maintained by this country for many years; and when the treaties of 1783 restored peace to the world, the independence of the United States was reluctantly recognized by their ancient parent and recent enemy, England.

[In 1777, Spain and Portugal settle their disputes in South America by the treaty of San Ildefonso; the Swiss Cantons make an alliance with Louis XVI. from dread of Austria's designs. In 1778, the Electorate of Bavaria ends by the death of the reigning prince; Spain signs the treaty of perpetual alliance with Portugal and acquires Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea. In 1779, France and Spain declare war against England and their fleets scour the Channel; the war of the Bavarian succession ends. In 1780, the Gordon Riots occur in London; the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors are sacked, and Newgate is burnt; Clinton and Cornwallis gain successes in South Carolina, and Arnold's treason is discovered and André is hanged; Rodney gains a great victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent; Russia attacks Turkey; Hyder Ali invades the Carnatic; the twelfth Earl of Derby institutes the "Blue Ribbon of the Turf." In 1781, Cornwallis defeats Greene, fortifies Yorktown, but is blockaded by De Grasse and an American army; Necker is dismissed from the French premiership.]

*André hanged.*

*Necker dismissed.*

# THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

## (A.D. 1781)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE Articles of Capitulation did not involve any degrading conditions. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were to march out to an appointed place, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march; then to ground their arms, and return to the place of their encampment. The imagination might fill up a picture from this indistinct outline. But a very graphic representation of an extraordinary scene exists in the diary of an Anspach sergeant, who served in the British army. We necessarily take only the prominent points of a lengthened detail. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, all the troops marched on the road to Williamsburg, in platoons, through the whole American and French army, who were drawn up in regiments. In front of each regiment were their generals and staff-officers. The French generals were attended by richly dressed servants

*Description by an eye-witness.*

*Articles of Capitulation.*

in liveries. Count de Rochambeau, Marquis de Lafayette, Count de Deuxponts, and Prince de Lucerne were there, wearing glittering stars and badges. The French formed the right wing. The left wing of the line was formed of the Americans. In front were their generals, Washington, Gates, Steuben, and Wayne. They were paraded in three lines. The regulars, in front, looked passable; but the militia, from Virginia and Maryland, were ragged and ill-looking. The prisoners were quite astonished at the immense number of their besiegers, whose lines, three ranks deep, extended nearly two miles. They passed through this formidable army to a large plain, where a squadron of French hussars had formed a circle. One regiment after another had to pass into this circle, to lay down their muskets and other arms. The honest narrator says, "When our colonel, Baron Seybothen, had marched his men into the circle, he had us drawn up in a line, stepped in front of it, and commanded first, 'Present arms,' and then, 'Lay down arms —put off swords and cartridge-boxes,' while tears ran down his cheeks. Most of us were weeping like him." All the officers, English and German, were allowed to keep their swords. All marched back in utter silence to the camp. Their courage and their spirit were gone; "the more so," says the sergeant, "as in this our return march the American part of our conquerors jeered at us very insultingly." Upon their return to their lines and tents, they enjoyed full liberty. The French are described as

*French officers.*

*Laying down arms.*

behaving very well toward the conquered—altogether kind and obliging. Cornwallis, in his despatch, makes no complaint of the Americans, but he clearly draws a distinction that seems expressive of no very cordial feeling toward those of the same race with himself: "The treatment in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power." The Abbé Robin noticed that there was a much deeper feeling of animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. As the English officers passed through the lines they saluted every French officer, but they showed no such courtesy to the American officers. There was no wisdom or equity in this unmerited contempt of men who were fighting for a far higher cause than their French allies. There was only a paltry display of military pride against irregulars, and a servile imitation of the temper of the English Court toward "rebels." An article of capitulation proposed by Cornwallis was rejected by Washington—"Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country at present in

*Cornwallis's tribute to the French.*

*Animosity between English and Americans.*

York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army." It was rejected upon principle: "The article can not be assented to, being altogether of civil resort." But Washington did not refuse his consent through any vindictive feeling. He allowed an article to stand, by which the *Bonetta* sloop of war should be left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, and be permitted to sail to New York without examination. The Anspach sergeant records that Tories of the country who were in the British army, and the French and American deserters who had joined during the siege, thus passed unmolested. This fact was probably unknown in England when Cornwallis was bitterly blamed for consenting to the refusal of the tenth article. "He ought," says Walpole, "to have declared he would die rather than sacrifice the poor Americans who had followed him from loyalty against their countrymen."

*Tories and deserters escape.*

On the day that Cornwallis signed the capitulation, Clinton despatched the auxiliary force for his relief. When Cornwallis and his superior officer met at New York, their differences of opinion became a matter of serious controversy, which was subsequently taken up in Parliamentary debates, and in pamphlets not devoid of personal acrimony. These charges and recriminations were soon forgotten in the more important political events that were a certain consequence of a calamity through which the war would very soon come to an end. There can be no doubt that the government felt the ca-

*Controversy between Clinton and Cornwallis.*

pitulation as an irremediable disaster. Wraxall, in his *Memoirs of his Own Time,* has related a conversation which he had with Lord George Germaine, as to the mode in which Lord North received the intelligence. Wraxall, a very slovenly and inaccurate writer, has confounded the official account of the surrender with a French Gazette that reached London on Sunday, the 25th of November. Clinton's despatch did not reach Lord George Germaine till midnight of the 25th, as shown by a minute on the back of the letter; and therefore Wraxall's statement that Lord George read the despatch to him and others at dinner, between five and six o'clock, is certainly incorrect. But nevertheless we can not, in common fairness, accuse the gossiping memoir-writer of having invented the conversation which he alleges took place at this dinner. He asked the Secretary how Lord North took the communication when made to him. The reply was, "As he would have taken a ball in his breast; for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, 'Oh, God! it is all over,'—words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." Lord George Germaine appears to have had very little official reticence, if Wraxall is to be believed, for he read to the same mixed company a letter from the King, in reply to the communication of the disastrous news: "I trust that neither Lord George Germaine nor any member of the Cabinet will suppose

*North's reception of the news.*

*Royal obstinacy.*

that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest."

*The King's speech.*

The session of Parliament was opened on the 27th of November, 1781. The royal speech had been prepared before the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis had reached London on the 25th. The mover of the address had been appointed, and had got by heart the echo of the speech. The ministers had little time to prepare or alter the speech, says Walpole. They were obliged to find another mover of the address; for the young Lord Fielding, originally chosen, "avoided making himself as ridiculous as the royal speech." The inconsistency of the production is manifest. The beginning and the end declare the King's resolution to persevere in extinguishing the spirit of rebellion among his deluded subjects in America, precisely in the same tone as if Cornwallis had sent Washington a prisoner to London. But one little sentence creeps in, which renders these words of sound and fury of no significance: "It is with great concern I inform you that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of my forces in that province." It was to be expected that the calamity of Yorktown would give new effect to the efforts of the Opposition to put an end to the war; but the temper which was evinced in this royal communication was calculated to raise hostility to a ministry

*The Opposition Parliament.*

into bitterness against the sovereign. Lord Shelburne talked of the greatness of mind with which his Majesty could rise superior to the dreadful situation of his affairs. "He was not surprised that ministers should take advantage of the noble sentiments of their monarch, and contrive and fabricate such a speech as should best flatter his personal feelings; but it was to be remembered that those ministers had never governed long for the people's advantage, in any country, who had not fortitude to withstand the mere impulse of their master's sentiments." Upon this point, it is curious to note the difference of opinion between two eminent statesmen of our own times. Lord Holland laments the weakness, while he enters into the chivalrous feelings, of Lord North, which induced him, in opposition to his better judgment, not to abandon a master who expressed for him such confidence, affection, and regard. Lord John Russell holds that the King's opinion that the independence of America would be tantamount to the ruin of the country was the opinion of Chatham and others of the most eminent of his subjects; that the King was only blamable for the obstinacy with which he clung to this opinion; but that Lord North, who was disposed to conciliate America, and was quite ready to consent to peace, by remaining in power to carry into effect the personal wishes of the sovereign, which he preferred to the welfare of the state, exhibited a conduct which might be Toryism, but was neither patriotic nor constitutional.

*Lord North's devotion to the King*

*England recognizes the independence of the United States.*

[In 1782, Spain deprives England of Minorca, but Rodney defeats De Grasse and saves the British West Indies. In 1783, a treaty at Paris recognizes the independence of the United States; England gains the right to trade with the Dutch East Indies; Russia extends her conquests to the Black Sea. In 1785, the French court is degraded in the eyes of the populace by the affair of the Queen's Necklace; Warren Hastings resigns his powers and returns to England. In 1786, the King of France is in such difficulties with his ministers that he agrees to summon the Notables in 1787. In 1787, the Notables meet, but, rejecting the proposals of the ministry, are dissolved. Catherine II. visits the Crimea accompanied by Potemkin; she enters into an alliance with the Emperor and forces war upon Turkey; a convention of the United States, with the exception of Rhode Island, meets under the Presidency of Washington; England acquires Sierra Leone for settling freed slaves.]

*Catherine II. forces war upon Turkey.*

# THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CRIMEA

## (A.D. 1787-1792)

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE

QUITE as insidious in her diplomacy as in her conquests, Catherine flattered the Emperor Joseph II. in compelling, by her menace, Holland to yield to that Prince the free navigation of the Scheldt.

*Object of Catherine's trip.*

Potemkine suggested to her, in 1787, the wish to be crowned at Cherson, as sovereign of the Taurid. This journey, which recalled that of Cleopatra on the Syrian coast, meant to dazzle her new subjects by the display of an Asiatic pomp, was destined also to charm the eyes of Joseph II. and the Western ambassadors by the extent and the fame of the territories and the seas over which Catherine led them in her train. A new favorite of the Empress, Momonof, a host of courtiers and women, ministers and ambassadors from France, England, and Austria, and the Prince de Ligne, a celebrated courtier, whose brilliant conversation was astonishing all Europe

at this time, formed the triumphal train of a woman who had turned the whole of Europe into a court. To show the Ottoman Empire to these representatives of Western courts as prey easy to seize, to make them dupes first and then accomplices in her designs upon the Bosphorus, to engage their responsibility in these prospects, and to obtain finally from them at least a tacit permission to do in Turkey what she had done in the Crimea, this was, after the pride of the voyage itself, the political object of this long trip across the Empire.

*Objects of the progress.*

The account given by the Prince de Ligne and the French ambassador, M. de Ségur, savors of the theatrical rather than the historical. One seems to travel with these courtiers in the realms of Fable: the flying sleighs drawn by hundreds of horses on roads illuminated by bonfires from post to post; the acclamations of the people along these routes; the regiments with the most celebrated generals in command encamped to salute the Empress from province to province; a way made through cataracts of the Dniester to permit the fifty galleys of the sovereign to sail down; the King of Poland, Poniatowski, running like a simple viceroy upon the bank of the Kanief, to bow before his former idol, now become that of the whole world; a secret maintenance of this already condemned and still deceived King; new villages with factitious façades crowning the hills on the borders of the river, to simulate population and opulence in the desert; the Emperor Joseph II. hastening by another route to

*Theatrical pomp.*

Cherson and awaiting, like a vassal, the arrival of the Empress; palaces built in a day, the extravagance of a hundred million scattered on the route; Potemkine, accompanied by the most beautiful woman in the East, Madame de Witt, his mistress, doing the honors of the Crimea to his sovereign; the Empress of Russia lodged in Batschi-Seraïl, in the deserted but still sumptuous palace of the Khans; and at Pultowa, a representation, by two armies of 60,000 men, of the battle in which Charles XII. ceded fortune to Russia. *Display of pomp.*

In the midst of all this pomp, Catherine degraded herself in public by the most servile condescension toward her new favorite, the vulgar Momonof, the convive of emperors and kings. Finally, the half-whispered or confidential conferences of the Empress and Joseph II. on their project of appropriating these lands and these Ottoman seas, all these prodigies of power, luxury, fêtes, wit, and scandal, made the voyage in the Crimea the talk of Europe and posterity. Russia, personified in a woman with two faces, European and Oriental, with civilization in one hand and a sword in the other, appeared for the first time. *Love and politics.*

The courtly attitude of the French, English, Austrian, Spanish and Italian ambassadors, and the presence of the Emperor Joseph II. himself added the deference of Europe to the pride of the Tsarina. A warning of fate seemed to arouse Joseph II. from his dreams of invading Turkey and Poland. The news of the revolution of his

*Joseph II. summoned to Brabant.*

states in Brabant reached him while he was plotting attacks upon his neighbors. He left in great haste to defend his own provinces.

While this trip was taking place, Potemkine's agents were agitating the Egyptians in Cairo, the Greeks in Smyrna, the Roumanians in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Servians in their mountains and the Bulgarians in their valleys. The demands of the Divan were not answered. The Porte, disturbed by this inexplicable trip of the Empress and her intimacy with Joseph II., resolved to prevent the coalition, and declared war against Russia. This was exactly what Potemkine wanted.

*Turkey declares war.*

Eighty thousand Turks advanced upon Otchakoff, while the old admiral, Hassan-Pacha, entered the Black Sea with his sixteen vessels, eight frigates and thirty galleys. The spirit of the old Ottomans lived again in the words that Hassan addressed to his officers before embarking:

*Hassan's speech to his officers.*

"You know from whence I come and what I have done," he said to them; "a new field of honor calls me, as well as you, to sacrifice the last breath for the honor of our religion and in the service of the Sultan and the invincible nation that now demands the last drop of our blood. It is to fulfil this sacred duty that I now separate myself from those of my family who are the dearest of all things to me. I have given liberty to all my slaves of both sexes; I have paid them all that I owe them, and I have rewarded each according to his deserts. I have given

a last farewell to my wife. I now come to engage in combat with the firm resolve to conquer or to die.—If I return, it will be a favor of the Most High. I do not wish to live a moment after glory has departed. Such is my unshaken resolution.

"You, who have always been my faithful companions, I have called you together to incite you to follow my example in this critical situation. If there is one here who does not feel the courage to die upon the field of battle, let him declare it freely; he will find indulgence from me and he will be dismissed at once. Those, on the contrary, who will lack the courage to execute my orders during an action must not count upon excuses attributing their flight to contrary winds or the disobedience of their sailors; for I swear by Mahomet and by the life of the Sultan that I will behead them as well as all his crew. But those who show courage in the performance of duty will be generously rewarded. Men, let all those who wish to follow me under these conditions rise and swear to obey me faithfully!"

*Exhortation to valor.*

At these words, all the captains rose and swore to conquer or die with their great admiral.

"Yes!" he then exclaimed, "I see my brave and faithful companions once again! Go now. Return to your ships. Call your crews together; repeat my speech to them; receive their oath, and hold yourselves in readiness to set sail to-morrow!"

The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban responded

*The King of Sweden supports the Turks.*

to Hassan's war-cry by attempts at insurrection against the Russians. Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was the only European king that dared embrace the Turkish cause. His flotilla seized some Russian frigates that cruised near Sweden; he himself, profiting by the moment when all the Empress's troops were on the march against the Ottomans, advanced without resistance as far as Fredericksham.

*The Swedes threaten Russia.*

The unprotected capital did not seem to be a safe refuge for Catherine; it was believed that she had gone to Moscow. The reverberations of the cannon of the Swedes in Finland were heard in St. Petersburg. The Empress showed herself equal to the danger and superior to fear.

*Catherine's bravery.*

"As I write to you the noise of the cannon makes the windows of the palace shake," she informed her correspondent, the Prince de Ligne, "and my hand does not tremble."

*The Swedes are defeated.*

Admiral Greig, an English officer in her service, finally sallied forth from Cronstadt, and defeated the Swedish squadron in the naval battle of Hogland. Peace was negotiated. Gustavus, although vanquished at sea, imposed imperious conditions,—the restitution of a part of Finland to Sweden and the mediation of Sweden to put an end to Catherine's war against the Turks.

"What language!" exclaimed Catherine. "If the King of Sweden will come to Moscow, I will show him what

a woman like myself on the wreck of a great Empire can do."

*The army deserts Gustavus.*

The Swedish army, worked upon by the Russian faction and the malcontents of the revolution that was fomenting in Sweden, suddenly abandoned Gustavus in his isolated heroism, and refused to march any longer against Russia. The King, disarmed, tremblingly led his troops back to Sweden.

*Suwaroff defeats the Turks.*

During this short war with Sweden, the Turks, despite Hassan's courage, succumbed at Otchakoff before the intrepid Suwaroff, whose name began to emerge from obscurity during this siege. Potemkine, generalissimo of all the armies on land and sea, despotically governed all the military operations of the subordinate generals, from Poland to the Dniester, from the Pruth to the Kouban. He dreamed, they say, of imitating Orloff in constructing a personal empire out of those vast fragments of Bessarabia, Crimea, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland, torn from the Sarmates, the Tartars and the Ottomans. The Austrians, commanded by the Prince of Cobourg, who became subsequently celebrated by his campaigns against the French Revolution, conquered Choksim.

*Potemkine takes Otchakoff.*

Potemkine finally took Otchakoff by assault, which he contemplated from afar as if it were a circus performance given to his favorites and mistresses. The assault, the pillage and the massacre of Otchakoff heaped up 45,000 corpses of Russians and Ottomans that were confused in the streets, the ramparts, and the river. On the

one side there was no pity, and there was no plea for life on the other: death was the one arbiter between the two races.

Europe, fascinated by writers in the pay of Russia, applauded this atrocious extermination of an innocent town by a satrap of the North. The Empress sent Potemkine a present of 100,000 roubles, a marshal's baton incrusted with diamonds and surrounded by a branch of laurel with golden leaves; she conferred upon him, moreover, the title of hetman of the Cossacks, taken from the old and perfidious Razomouski, who had betrayed Peter III., his benefactor. An aigrette of diamonds and the rank of general rewarded Suwaroff.

*Suwaroff's success.*

Suwaroff, encouraged by these distinctions from his sovereign, rapidly displayed a savage genius which turned him into the Russian Hannibal. The victory of Fokshani, won by Suwaroff against the Turks, confirmed his renown. That of Rimnik, where, with 30,000 Russians, he defeated 200,000 Turks, gave him the surname of Riminsky, and the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire and Count of the Russian Empire.

*Siege of Ismaïl.*

The only bulwark of Turkey was Ismaïl. Potemkine besieged it seven months. Surrounded in his camp by a following of women and courtiers, he recalled the luxury and licentiousness of Antony in Egypt. One day when he was superstitiously consulting the decrees of fate by means of one of the fortune-tellers of his court, who read by means of cards, he suddenly cried out: "I

know a more certain oracle than this!" And addressing the chief of his staff-officers, he ordered him to send Suwaroff and his army to Ismaïl.

*Suwaroff's ferocity.*

Suwaroff arrived and thus harangued his army: "No mercy to the vanquished, children!" he said with the ferocity of a barbarian stoic; "provisions are dear!"

In the evening Ismaïl was taken. The corpses of 15,000 of Suwaroff's soldiers were piled in the moats: 45,000 Ottomans—soldiers, citizens, men, women, old men and children—had diminished the price of provisions in the camp. "Madame," Potemkine wrote to Catherine, "proud Ismaïl is at your feet." Hassan died of grief upon learning of the fall of this bulwark of his country. The young French volunteer officers, Roger de Damas, the Langerons, and the Richelieus, flying into the camps of foreigners upon the first agitations of the French Revolution, ornamented Potemkine's court, and proved their valor at the siege of Ismaïl.

*Potemkine's triumphal journey.*

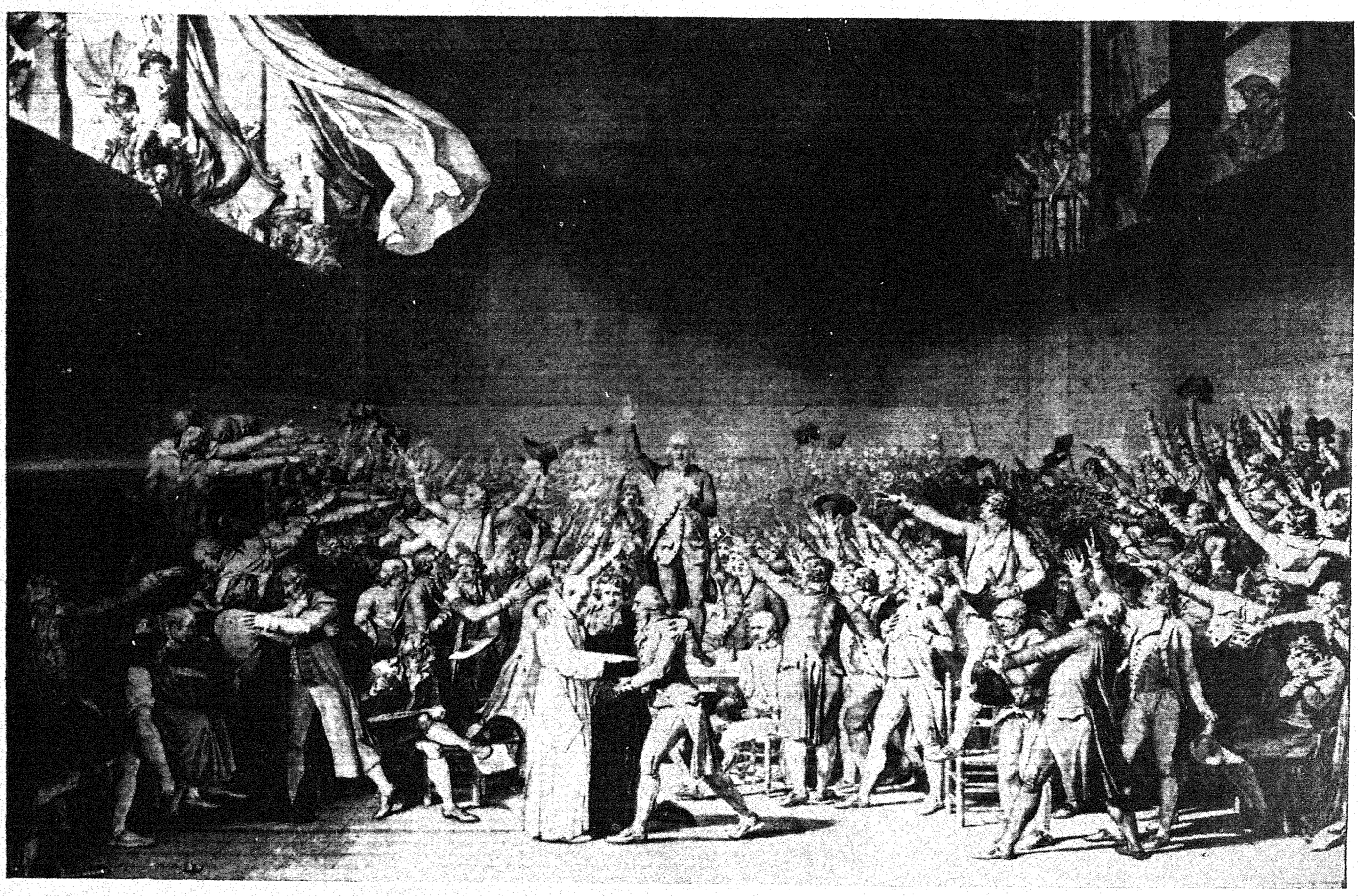
Catherine, elated by the triumph of her generals, made public her wish to transplant the capital to Constantinople. After this campaign, Potemkine was called to the capital, and arrived there through a route that was illuminated throughout the length of the eight days' journey. Couriers, sent out twice every twenty-four hours ahead of him to report news of him to the Empress, ceaselessly came and went between St. Petersburg and the post where the triumphant general was spending the night. A deputation of ministers and senators went as far

as Moscow to carry him congratulations and almost the homage of his sovereign. His entrance into the capital equalled the Roman triumphs after the wars in Asia.

*Trial of Warren Hastings.*

*Washington is elected President.*

[In 1788, George III. goes mad and his son is appointed Regent; the trial of Warren Hastings begins; in France, Necker is recalled and the States-General are summoned for the following year; England, Holland and Germany form an alliance to maintain the peace of Europe, particularly for the protection of Turkey against Russia and Austria; Sweden also declares war against Russia on her invasion of Turkey, but is defeated, and, in turn, invaded by the Danes, whereupon she retires; the Constitution of the United States is accepted by all the States except Rhode Island and North Carolina; convicts are landed at Botany Bay, and New South Wales is colonized. In 1789, George III. recovers his reason and resumes his powers; Gustavus of Sweden makes the monarchy absolute; Washington is elected President of the United States; the city of Washington is laid out and the Tammany Society is founded.]



THE OATH OF THE JEU DE PAUME (*Page* 315)

FROM THE PAINTING BY DAVID

# THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

## (A.D. 1789)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

LOUIS XVI. succeeded his grandfather on the 10th of May, 1774. Then twenty years of age, he had been already four years married to Marie Antoinette, the beautiful daughter of Maria Theresa. The young couple entered with the fresh joy of their years into the gayeties of the coronation, and all high-born France rang with the noise of feasting. But in every square mile of the land there were men whose wives and children cried to them in vain for bread.

*Accession of Louis XVI.*

Louis XV. had left a debt of four thousand millions of livres. It was a gigantic task—an unsolvable problem—to support an expensive court and government under this enormous pressure. Old Maurepas, the first prime minister of Louis XVI., tried it and failed. Turgot, a clever disciple of Voltaire and Diderot, failed too. The lawyer Malesherbes had to give place to Necker, a banker of Geneva, who reformed the taxation and restored public

*Calonne as a financier.*

credit during his five years' tenure of office (1776-81). Then Calonne took the purse from Necker, who was dismissed by a court-cabal; and never was seen such a financier. When the King or Queen wanted money to meet a jeweller's bill, or pay the expenses of a ball, or what purpose you please, this smiling, witty minister never refused to honor the demand. His plan was a simple one, but by no means a new invention. We meet Calonnes every day of our lives. He borrowed on every side, without one thought of repayment. For a time this lasted. But the day came when even Calonne could not fill the royal treasury, and some new plan must be devised to make both ends meet, and stave off clamorous creditors; and the expedient adopted in this difficulty was the assembling of the Notables—the chief nobles and magistrates gathered from all parts of France, who met at Versailles. Calonne wanted to make up for the deficiency of revenue by a land-tax, but his proposal was rejected by these lords of the soil. They suggested other plans, which were adopted by the King.

Then came the dismissal of Calonne, who was soon succeeded by Brienne, Archbishop of Toulon. But Brienne could do nothing to stem the rising tide, and Necker was recalled in 1788. There was then only 250,000 francs in the royal treasury.

*Meeting of the States-General.*

Necker yielded to the cry for a meeting of the States-General,—an assembly not unlike our English Parliament. There had been no such thing since the days of

Richelieu. It was a sign that the day of despotism in France was, for a time at least, nearly over.

All over France the elections went on, and no man who wore a good coat was refused leave to vote. Three millions of the people sent up their deputies—lawyers, doctors, priests, farmers, writers for the press—to the great States-General, in which, for the first time during nearly two hundred years, the down-trodden *"tiers état"* was to sit in council with the nobles and the high clergy. After hearing a sermon in Notre Dame, they met in a great hall at Versailles. Here a difficulty arose. The deputies of the *tiers état* would not submit to be separated from the other houses. Sitting in their own chamber, they asked the coronets and mitres to join them; and, when the invitation was rejected in scorn, they formed themselves into the National Assembly. The King, forgetting the lesson he might have learned when, in early days, he read the History of England with Fleury, stationed soldiers at the door of the hall to keep out the members of Assembly. This was the fatal move. Bailly, then president, led them to the Jeu de Paume (Tennis Court), where they swore a solemn oath not to dissolve their Assembly until they had framed a constitution for France. Then the mitres and some of the coronets began to flock into the Assembly hall. Among the latter sat the Duke of Orleans, infamously known as Philip Egalité,—a name he took to please the mob; and the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American war. But greatest of

*The National Assembly.*

the throng in fiery eloquence and political genius was the ugly debauchee, Honoré Gabriel, Comte de Mirabeau, who sat as deputy for the town of Aix. Robespierre, too,—the sea-green, as Carlyle loves to call him,—whose pinched face, deeply pitted with the small-pox, was soon to be the guiding-star of the Jacobins, had already in thin cracked voice made his maiden speech.

*The tempest breaks.*

At last, after many muttered warnings, and long-gathering darkness, the tempest broke in awful fury. A fierce mob, whose souls were leavened with infidelity, and brutalized by changeless misery and never-satisfied hunger, raged through Paris streets. The spark which fired the mine was a rumor that the soldiers were marching to dissolve the Assembly. Necker, too, the sole hope of the starving people, had been dismissed. Cockades of green leaves, torn from the trees, became the badge of the rioters. Shots were heard in many quarters. An old man was killed by a bullet from the German guards.

*Storming of the Bastile.*

Then the grim old prison of the Bastile was stormed. Within its dark walls hundreds of innocent hearts had broken, pierced through with the iron of hopeless captivity. The terrible *lettres de cachet*—sealed orders from the King to arrest and fling into prison without a trial, and often without any distinct charge—had packed its dungeons with wretched men during the late reign. Little wonder, then, that the first rush of the mob was to the Bastile.

The flames then burst out all through the land, except

in La Vendée. The *chateaux* of the nobles were pillaged and burned to the ground. Tortures were inflicted by the fierce peasants upon their former masters. The royal *Fleur de Lis* was trampled in the mud, and the *Tricolor* upraised.

*March of women to Versailles.*

One day in autumn a swarm of women gathered round the Hôtel-de-Ville, crying, "Bread! give bread!" It became the nucleus of a riotous crowd, surging with wild outcries through the streets. Then out came Millard with a drum, who said he would lead them to Versailles. Outside the barriers he strove to disperse them, but no —they would go on. Hungry and wet with heavy rain, when they found that the King and the Assembly would give them only words, they gathered round the palace. Some fool fired on them. Sweeping through an open gate, they spread through all the splendid rooms; and the Queen had scarcely time to escape by a secret door, when her bedchamber was filled with a fierce and squalid throng. The timely arrival of Lafayette, and the consent of the King to remove to Paris, alone quelled the tumult.

*Changes in the French constitution.*

The next year saw sweeping changes in the constitution of France. The Assembly, of which Mirabeau was the master-spirit, proceeded to parcel out the kingdom into eighty-four departments of nearly equal size. Stripping the King of his patronage, they gave the appointment of new magistrates and officers to the people. Violent hands, too, were laid on the Church lands; and to

create a currency, by which these might be purchased, paper bills—called *Assignats*—were issued. But these speedily became worth nothing, for nearly all the gold and silver coin was either carried out of France by the flying nobles, or buried in quiet corners of the field or the garden.

*The Jacobins.*

Hereditary titles were abolished; and no greetings were heard in the streets but "citizen" and "citizeness." On the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastile there was a grand pageant in the Champ de Mars, where the King, the Assembly, the soldiers, and the people swore a solemn oath to maintain the new constitution of France. The Jacobin club, so called from holding its meetings in a hall lately occupied by the Jacobin friars in Paris, now began to be formidable in its influence over the Assembly. Branch societies, all in correspondence with the central club, grew up in every corner of France. The dismissal of Necker, who was not radical enough in his policy to please the heads of the Assembly, took place in the last month of this most threatening year.

*Death of Mirabeau.*

Dark and still darker grew the sky. Mirabeau, "our little mother Mirabeau," as the fishwomen of the gallery used lovingly to call him, was made President of the Assembly in January, 1791. He exerted all his giant genius to quell the storm, whose rising gusts had been felt at the Bastile and Versailles; and poor Louis clung to the hope that this aristocratic darling of the rabble might yet save him. But Mirabeau died in April; and

while the spring blossoms were brightening in all the fields of France, the Bourbon lilies drooped their golden heads. There seemed no hope for Louis but in flight. He fled in despair, but was recognized, stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris.

The Constituent Assembly, having sat for three years, passed a resolution dissolving itself (Sept. 29). The breaking of the nobles' power, the establishment of the National Guard, and the abolition of torture, *lettres de cachet,* and many oppressive taxes, were among the boons it had conferred on France. Its place was taken by a new body called the Legislative Assembly, which began to sit on the 1st of October.

*The three parties.*

Three distinct factions were already clearly marked out in this terrible time, and among these a strife began for pre-eminence. It was, in truth, a battle to the death.

The spirit of the vanished Assembly was embodied in the party of the *Feuillants,* who sat on the right of the tribune. These friends of limited monarchy numbered among them the National Guard and most of the officers of State. The *Girondists,* or Moderate Republicans, formed the second party. Occupying the highest seats in the hall, and therefrom called the "Mountain," sat the Red Republicans—chiefly members of the Jacobin and Cordeliers Clubs—whose rallying cry was "No King." The list of this third party contained those terrible names which make us shudder at their very sound, and turn sick with thoughts of blood.

*Brunswick's invasion.*

The sympathy of the neighboring sovereigns for the wretched Louis, and for the imperilled cause of monarchy, led them now to interfere. A great army of Austrians and Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, entered the French territory. Already the violent manifesto which Brunswick issued had roused the French to show a most determined front.

Matters then grew worse than ever at the centre of the Revolution. The Paris mob rose like a sea, swelled by some troops from Marseilles, who, first singing along Paris streets the war-hymn of Rouget de Lisle, caused it henceforth to be known as the Marseillaise. Amid pealing bells, and drums beating the *générale* in every street, they crowded to the Tuileries, whose steps were soon piled with the bleeding bodies of the brave Swiss Guards. Louis escaped to the Assembly; but he was imprisoned with his family in the old palace of the Temple. A National Convention was summoned. Lafayette fled to the Netherlands, where he was arrested by the Austrians.

*Sack of the Tuileries.*

*The National Convention.*

While the prisons of Paris were still wet with innocent blood, shed by order of the Jacobin leaders, Dumouriez, having taken command of the French army, was marshalling his men on the Belgian frontier. Crossing into Belgium, he inflicted a signal defeat upon the allies at the village of Jemappes (November 6). Acting as aide-de-camp of the French leader was the young Duke of Chartres, whom we know better in later days as Louis Philippe, King of the French.

*Battle of Jemappes.*

The Assembly gave place to the National Convention, whose members were also elected by the people. The wildest orators of the clubs found here their fitting sphere. But three men stood far above the rest in lust of blood. These were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The lawyer, Danton, was a strong, thunder-voiced bully, who held office as Minister of Justice. Marat, a quack-doctor and editor of the *People's Friend,* was the most blood-thirsty villain of the lot. Robespierre we have already seen sitting on the benches of the Constituent Assembly, a very serpent coiled for his deadly spring. Now the time had come. Louis must die.

The trial of the King, for treason and conspiracy against the nation, began in December. He denied, with proud calmness, the justness of the charge. But denial was useless before judges such as his. Death was the sentence of the court after a discussion of some days. At ten o'clock on a January morning he was brought in a carriage to the Place de Louis XV., where the guillotine awaited its noblest victim. Before the fatal knife fell, he tried to address the crowd, who were stunned for the time into deep silence; but the incessant rattle of drums drowned his voice, and in a few seconds more the head of poor Louis Capet—so his Republican murderers called him—rolled bleeding in the sawdust.

*Execution of Louis XVI.*

# THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE

## (A.D. 1789)

THOMAS CARLYLE

IN any case, behold, about nine in the morning, our National Volunteers rolling in long, wide flood southwestward to the Hotel des Invalides; in search of the one thing needful. King's Procureur, M. Ethys de Corny, and officials are there; the Curé of Saint-Etienne du Mont marches unpacific at the head of his militant Parish; the clerks of the Basoche in red coats we see marching, now Volunteers of the Basoche; the Volunteers of the Palais Royal:—National Volunteers, numerable by tens of thousands; of one heart and mind. The King's muskets are the Nation's; think, old M. de Sombreuil, how, in this extremity, thou wilt refuse them! Old M. de Sombreuil would fain hold parley, send couriers; but it skills not: the walls are scaled, no Invalide firing a shot; the gates must be flung open. Patriotism rushes in, tumultuous, from grunsel up to ridge-tile, through all rooms and passages; rummaging distractedly for arms. What cellar, or what cranny can

*The National Volunteers.*

*To arms.*

escape it? The arms are found; all safe there; lying packed in straw—apparently with a view to being burnt! More ravenous than famishing lions over dead prey, the multitude, with clangor and vociferation, pounces on them; struggling, dashing, clutching:—to the jamming-up, to the pressure, fracture and probable extinction of the weaker Patriot. And so, with such protracted clash of deafening, most discordant Orchestra-music, the Scene is changed; and eight-and-twenty thousand sufficient firelocks are on the shoulders of as many National Guards, lifted thereby out of darkness into fiery light.

Let Besenval look at the glitter of these muskets, as they flash by! Gardes Françaises, it is said, have cannon levelled on him, ready to open, if need were, from the other side of the river. Motionless sits he; "astonished," one may flatter one's self, "at the proud bearing (*fière contenance*) of the Parisians."—And now, to the Bastille, ye intrepid Parisians. There grapeshot still threatens: thither all men's thoughts and steps are now tending.

*'To the Bastille!"*

Old de Launay, as we hinted, withdrew "into his interior" soon after midnight of Sunday. He remains there ever since, hampered, as all military gentlemen now are, in the saddest conflict of uncertainties. The Hôtel de Ville "invites" him to admit National Soldiers, which is a soft name for surrendering. On the other hand, his Majesty's orders were precise. His garrison is but eighty-two old Invalides, reinforced by thirty-two

young Swiss; his walls indeed are nine feet thick, he has cannon and powder; but, alas, only one day's provision of victuals. The city too is French, the poor garrison mostly French. Rigorous old De Launay, think what thou wilt do!

All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: "To the Bastille!" Repeated "deputations of citizens" have been here, passionate for arms; whom De Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through portholes. Toward noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance; finds De Launay indisposed for surrender; nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled; cannon all duly levelled; in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little. But outward, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale:* the Suburb Saint-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment; prophetic of what other Phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering Spectral Realities, which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt. *"Que voulez-vous?"* said De Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menace. "Monsieur," said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, "what mean *you?"* Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,—"say only a hun-

*The garrison.*

*De Launay's perplexitie.*

dred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch." Whereupon De Launay fell silent. Thuriot shows himself from some pinnacle, to comfort the multitude becoming suspicious, fremescent; then descends; departs with protest; with warning addressed also to the Invalides,—on whom, however, it produces but a mixed indistinct impression. The old heads are none of the clearest; besides, it is said, De Launay has been profuse of beverages (*prodigua des buissons*). They think they will not fire,—if not fired on, if they can help it; but must, on the whole, be ruled considerably by circumstances.

Woe to thee, De Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grapeshot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un*questionable. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry,—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, can not do execution. The Outer Drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputation of citizens* (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the Outer Court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, De Launay gives fire; pulls up his Drawbridge. A slight sputter;—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Bursts forth Insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless, rolling explosion of musketry, distraction,

*De Launay opens fire.*

execration;—and overhead, from the Fortress, let one great gun, with its grapeshot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

On, then, all Frenchmen, that have hearts in your bodies! Roar with all your throats, of cartilage and metal, ye Sons of Liberty, stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at the Outer Drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never, over nave or felloe, did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed Edifice sink thither, and Tyranny be swallowed up forever! Mounted, some say, on the roof of the guard-room, some "on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall," Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge Drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The Eight grim Towers, with their Invalide musketry, their paving-stones and cannon-mouths, still soar aloft intact;—Ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner Drawbridge with its *back* toward us: the Bastille is still to take!

*The drawbridge falls.*

To describe this Siege of the Bastille (thought to be one of the most important in history), perhaps transcends the talent of mortals. Could one but, after infinite reading, get to understand so much as the plan of the

*Plan of the prison.*

building! But there is open Esplanade, at the end of the Rue Saint-Antoine; there are such Forecourts, *Cour Avancé, Cour de l'Orme,* arched Gateway (where Louis Tournay now fights); then new drawbridges, dormant-bridges, rampart-bastions, and the grim Eight Towers; a labyrinthic Mass, high-frowning there, of all ages from twenty years to four hundred and twenty; beleaguered, in this its last hour, as we said, by mere Chaos come again! Ordnance of all calibres; throats of all capacities; men of all plans, every man his own engineer; seldom since the war of Pygmies and Cranes was there seen so anomalous a thing. Half-pay Elie is home for a suit of regimentals; no one would heed him in colored clothes: half-pay Hulin is haranguing Gardes Françaises in the Place de Grève. Frantic Patriots pick up the grapeshots; bear them, still hot (or seemingly so), to the Hôtel-de-Ville:—Paris, you perceive, is to be burnt! Flesselles is "pale to the very lips"; for the roar of the multitude grows deep. Paris wholly has got to the acme of its frenzy; whirled, all ways, by panic madness. At every street-barricade, there whirls simmering a minor whirlpool,—strengthening the barricade, since God knows what is coming; and all minor whirlpools play distractedly into that grand Fire-Mahlstrom which is lashing round the Bastille.

*Paris in frenzy.*

And so it lashes and it roars. Cholat, the wine-merchant, has become an impromptu cannoneer. See Georget, of the Marine Service, fresh from Brest, ply the

King of Siam's cannon. Singular (if we were not used to the like): Georget lay, last night, taking his ease at his inn; the King of Siam's cannon also lay, knowing nothing of *him,* for a hundred years. Yet now, at the right instant, they have got together, and discourse eloquent music. For, hearing what was toward, Georget sprang from the Brest Diligence, and ran. Gardes Françaises also will be here, with real artillery: were not the walls so thick!—Upward from the Esplanade, horizontally from all neighboring roofs and windows, flashes one irregular deluge of musketry, without effect. The Invalides lie flat, firing comparatively at their ease from behind stone; hardly through portholes show the tip of a nose. We fall, shot; and make no impression!

*Conflagration rages.*

Let conflagration rage; of whatsoever is combustible! Guard-rooms are burnt; Invalides mess-rooms. A distracted "Perukemaker with two fiery torches" is for burning "the saltpetres of the Arsenal";—had not a woman run screaming; had not a patriot, with some tincture of Natural Philosophy, instantly struck the wind out of him (butt of musket on pit of stomach), overturned barrels, and stayed the devouring element. A young beautiful lady, seized escaping in these Outer Courts, and thought falsely to be De Launay's daughter, shall be burnt in De Launay's sight; she lies swooned on a paillasse: but again a Patriot—it is brave Aubin Bonnemère, the old soldier—dashes in, and rescues her. Straw is burnt; three cartloads of it, hauled thither, go

*Futile deputations.*

up in white smoke: almost to the choking of Patriotism itself; so that Elie had, with singed brows, to drag back one cart; and Réole, the "gigantic haberdasher," another. Smoke as of Tophet; confusion as of Babel; noise as of the Crack of Doom!

Blood flows; the aliment of new madness. The wounded are carried into houses of the Rue Cerisaie; the dying leave their last mandate not to yield till the accursed Stronghold fall. And yet, alas, how fall? The walls are so thick! Deputations, three in number, arrive from the Hôtel-de-Ville; Abbé Fauchet (who was of one) can say, with that almost superhuman courage of benevolence. These wave their Townflag in the arched Gateway; and stand, rolling their drum; but to no purpose. In such Crack of Doom, De Launay can not hear them: they return, with justified rage, the whew of lead still singing in their ears. What to do? The Firemen are here, squirting with their fire-pumps on the Invalides' cannon, to wet the touchholes; they unfortunately can not squirt so high; but produce only clouds of spray. Individuals of classical knowledge propose *catapults.* Santerre, the sonorous Brewer of the Suburb Saint-Antoine, advises rather that the place be fired, by a "mixture of phosphorus and oil of turpentine spouted up through forcing pumps": O Spinola-Santerre, hast thou the mixture *ready?* Every man his own engineer! And still the fire-deluge abates not: even women are firing, and Turks; at least one woman (with her sweetheart),

*Three deputations arrive.*

and one Turk. Gardes Françaises have come: real cannon, real cannoneers. Usher Maillard is busy; half-pay Elie, half-pay Hulin rage in the midst of thousands. *Artillery arrives.*

How the great Bastille Clock ticks (inaudible) in its Inner Court there, at its ease, hour after hour, as if nothing special, for it or the world, were passing! It tolled One when the firing began; and is now pointing toward Five, and still the firing slakes not.—Far down, in their vaults, the seven Prisoners hear muffled din as of earthquakes; their Turnkeys answer vaguely.

Woe to thee, De Launay, with thy poor hundred Invalides! Broglie is distant, and his ears heavy: Besenval hears, but can send no help. One poor troop of Hussars has crept, reconnoitring, cautiously along the Quais, as far as the Pont Neuf. "We are come to join you," said the Captain; for the crowd seems shoreless. A large-headed dwarfish individual, of smoke-bleared aspect, shambles forward, opening his blue lips, for there is sense in him; and croaks: "Alight, then, and give up your arms!" The Hussar-Captain is too happy to be escorted to the Barriers, and dismissed on parole. Who the squat individual was? Men answer, It is M. Marat, author of the excellent pacific *Avis au Peuple!* Great truly, O thou remarkable Dogleech, is this thy day of emergence and new-birth: and yet this same day come four years!—But let the curtains of the Future hang. *Marat comes to the front.*

What shall De Launay do? One thing only De Launay could have done: what he said he would do. Fancy

*De Launay's irresolution.*

him sitting, from the first, with lighted taper, within arm's-length of the Powder-Magazine; motionless, like old Roman Senator, or Bronze Lamp-holder; coldly apprising Thuriot, and all men, by a slight motion of his eye, what his resolution was:—Harmless he sat there, while unharmed; but the King's Fortress, meanwhile, could, might, would, or should in nowise be surrendered, save to the King's Messenger: one old man's life is worthless so it be lost with honor; but think, ye brawling *canaille,* how will it be when a whole Bastille springs skyward!—In such statuesque, taper-holding attitude, one fancies De Launay might have left Thuriot, the red Clerks of the Basoche, Curé of Saint-Stephen and all the tagrag-and-bobtail of the world, to work their will.

*The Voice of the Populace.*

And yet, withal, he could not do it. Hast thou considered how each man's heart is so tremulously responsive to the hearts of all men; hast thou noted how omnipotent is the very sound of many men? How their shriek of indignation palsies the strong-soul; their howl of contumely withers with unfelt pangs? The Ritter Glück confessed that the ground-tone of the noblest passage, in one of his noblest Operas, was the voice of the Populace he had heard at Vienna, crying to their Kaiser: "Bread! Bread!" Great is the combined voice of men; the utterance of their *instincts,* which are truer than their *thoughts:* it is the greatest a man encounters, among the sounds and shadows which make up this World of Time. He who can resist that has his footing somewhere

*beyond* Time. De Launay could not do it. Distracted, he hovers between two; hopes in the middle of despair; surrenders not his Fortress; declares that he will blow it up. Unhappy old De Launay, it is the death-agony of thy Bastille and thee! Jail, Jailering and Jailer, all three, such as they may have been, must finish.

*Surrender of the Bastille.*

For four hours now has the World-Bedlam roared: call it the World-Chimæra, blowing fire! The poor Invalides have sunk under their battlements, or rise only with reversed muskets: they have made a white flag of napkins; go beating the *chamade,* or seeming to beat, for one can hear nothing. The very Swiss at the Portcullis look weary of firing; disheartened in the fire-deluge: a porthole at the Drawbridge is opened, as by one that would speak. See Huissier Maillard, the shifty man! On his plank, swinging over the abyss of that stone Ditch; plank resting on parapet, balanced by weight of Patriots,—he hovers perilous: such a Dove toward such an Ark! Deftly, thou shifty Usher: one man already fell; and lies smashed, far down there, against the masonry! Usher Maillard falls not: deftly, unerring he walks, with outspread palm. The Swiss holds a paper through his porthole; the shifty Usher snatches it, and returns. Terms of surrender: Pardon, immunity to all! Are they accepted?—"*Foi d'officier* (On the word of an officer)," answers half-pay Hulin,—or half-pay Elie, for men do not agree on it,—"they are!" Sinks the Drawbridge—Usher Maillard bolting it when down; rushes in

the living deluge: the Bastille is fallen! *Victoire! La Bastille est prise!*

*Petitions against slavery.*

[In 1790, Russia makes peace with Sweden. In America, the first petitions are presented against slavery. Vancouver explores the northwest coast of America. The second Mysore war begins.]

# THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE

## (A.D. 1790-1799)

SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER

THE second Mysore war of 1790-1792 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, led the British army in person with a pomp and a magnificence of supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great southern powers, the Nizám of the Deccan and the Maratha Confederacy, co-operated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipú Sultán submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay three millions sterling toward the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterward he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors. Lord Cornwallis retired in 1793, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterward Lord Teignmouth.

*Second Mysore war.*

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as governor-general, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquess Wellesley,

*Marquess Wellesley, 1798-1805.*

arrived in India, already inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Lord Mornington was the friend and favorite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in the Indian peninsula, and the Native princes could only retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the 1st of January, 1877.

*French influence in India.*

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion in India, led by Napoleon in person, was the immediate governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterward occupied by Russia in the minds of Indian statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. French regiments guarded and overawed the Nizám of Haidarábád. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maráthá Confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipú Sultán of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directory, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions, and enrolled himself in a republican club as "Citizen Tipú." The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon

*Napoleon's schemes.*

afforded a convenient half-way rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Above all, Napoleon Bonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the Indian conquests of Alexander the Great, and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing forever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In lower Bengal, the sword of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before the end of the century, our power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high up the Gangetic valley. Beyond our frontier, the Nawáb Wasír of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to £760,000 a year; and the Nawáb, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801, the treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the Doáb, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. In Southern India, our possessions were chiefly confined, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast districts of Madras and Bombay, Wellesley resolved to make the British supreme as far as Delhi in Northern India, and to compel the great powers of the south to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out this plan without a

*Treaty of Lucknow.*

breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India, or be driven out of it. The Mughal Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan governors of that empire, or to the Hindu Confederacy, represented by the Maráthás, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

*Lord Wellesley's policy.*

His work in Northern India was at first easy. The treaty of Lucknow in 1801 made us territorial rulers as far as the heart of the present Northwestern Provinces, and established our political influence in Oudh. Beyond those limits, the northern branches of the Maráthás practically held sway, with the puppet Emperor in their hands. Lord Wellesley left them untouched for a few years until the second Maráthá war (1801-1804) gave him an opportunity for dealing effectively with their nation as a whole. In Southern India, he saw that the Nizám at Haidarábád stood in need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other Muhammadan power of the south, Tipú Sultán of Mysore, could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third power of Southern India—namely, the Maráthá Confederacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several years of fitful alliance had convinced him

that he had to choose between the supremacy of the Maráthás or of the British in Southern India, he did not hesitate to decide.

*Treaty with the Nizám (1798).*

Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of the three southern powers, the Nizám of Haidarábád. Here he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into a subservient ally. The French battalions at Haidarábád were disbanded, and the Nizám bound himself by treaty not to take any European into his service without the consent of the English Government,—a clause since inserted in every engagement entered into with native powers.

*Third Mysore war (1799).*

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources against Tipú, whom Cornwallis had defeated but not subdued. Tipú's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary system. On his refusal war was declared, and Wellesley came down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in person, and to watch over the course of events. Our English army marched into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a contingent from the Nizám. Another advanced from the western coast. Tipú, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired into Seringapatam, his capital, and, when it was stormed, died fighting bravely in the breach. Since the battle of Plassey, no event so greatly impressed the natives as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General Harris an eventual peerage, and for Wellesley

*Death of Tipú.*

an Irish marquessate. In dealing with the territories of Tipú, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old State of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu Rájás, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipú's dominion was partitioned between the Nizám, the Maráthás, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnátik, or the part of Southeastern India ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, thus constituting the Madras Presidency almost as it has existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipú were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with a semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterward in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulám Muhammad, who survived to 1877, was long a well-known citizen of Calcutta, and an active justice of the peace.

*The Madras Presidency.*

*United States Constitution amended.*

[In 1791, ten amendments are added to the Constitution of the United States; an insurrection breaks out in San Domingo. In 1792, Gustavus III. of Sweden is assassinated; Catherine II. begins to negotiate with Austria and Prussia for the final partition of Poland; Godoy becomes supreme in Spain.]

END OF VOLUME FIVE